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ABSTRACT

GRADES OR AGES: Senior high school (Grades 10-12). SUBJECT MATTER: The Negro in United States history. ORGANIZATION AND PHYSICAL APPEARANCE: The guide has 12 units: 1) African Background; 2) Exploration; 3) The Revolution; 4) The Constitution; 5) Westward Expansion; 6) Slavery; 7) Lincoln and Slavery; 8) The Civil War; 9) Reconstruction; 10) Search for Dignity; 11) Negro in Labor; 12) Civil Rights. Each unit has the following sections: objectives, suggested resources, audio-visual material, and bibliography. The guide is mimeographed and spiral-bound with a soft cover. OBJECTIVES AND ACTIVITIES: Objectives listed at the beginning of each unit give the main ideas to be conveyed conceptually. Activities are designed to motivate further independent study on the part of the students. INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS: The suggested resources include readily available materials specifically oriented to individual unit areas. The audio-visual material and bibliography for each unit give a comprehensive selection of sources offering a wide range of related material. There is also a general bibliography of 67 items. STUDENT ASSESSMENT: No special provision is made for evaluation. (MBM)

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THE NEGRO IN UNITED STATES HISTORY

A RESOURCE GUIDE

(TENTATIVE)

for

SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
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BOSTON PUBLIC SCHOOLS
William H. Ohrenberger, Superintendent

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THE SCHOOL COMMITTEE OF THE CITY OF BOSTON

1969

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This resource guide is a supplement to the Curriculum Guide in United States History for Senior High Schools.

Curriculum Guide
The Negro in United States History
A Resource Guide

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PHILOSOPHY

This curriculum guide is another step forward in the constant effort to meet the needs of our pupils, our teachers, and the changing times. Its preparation involved the talents and high professional competence of many experienced teachers, as well as supervisory and administrative personnel.

The suggestions made regarding scope and sequence of subject matter and teaching procedures are the product of carefully considered judgments as to what pupils should learn in certain areas and how best to present the material. This provides some degree of constancy, validity, and practicality to the learning-teaching process. Further, it protects the people's right to know what is being taught in the public schools of this city.

This necessary and desirable structuring does not, however, militate in any way against the flexibility of the curriculum guide. Working around the skeletal core provided by this guide, enthusiastic and ingenious teachers will use their creativity to both adapt and expand its contents. Only thus can pupils possessing a broad range of abilities and capabilities be challenged.

The effectiveness of this curriculum guide, as that of any other tool, will depend upon the skill of the user. It is to be hoped that all teachers will make it a vital part of the educational equipment they use daily and will assume a degree of personal responsibility for its evaluation and revision. From this constant refinement, on a broad base, there will evolve a curriculum of superior quality and ever-increasing usefulness to the teachers it guides in the effective instruction of all pupils.

William H. Ohrenberger

WILLIAM H. OHRENBERGER
Superintendent

INTRODUCTION

This instructional manual and teacher's resource guide on the Black experience in American history was developed by teachers from the Boston public schools at the Lincoln Filene Center, Tufts University, during the summer of 1969. As the principal consultant to the Boston Public Schools in the development of this guide, the Center has carried on its long tradition of working with teachers in organizing and writing instructional resources in the social studies.

Miss Doreen Blanc of the Center's staff, an authority in secondary social studies education and Black history, contributed many long and fruitful hours in preparation of this guide. The Center's library of instructional resources in intergroup relations and Black history was extensively drawn upon by the teachers; and literally thousands of books, films, records, and other materials were reviewed and previewed during the summer.

In order to reflect the continuous pattern of Black life and Black contributions in the evolution of this nation, it is the conviction of the Center that the Black experience should be woven into the mainstream of American history. We believe, therefore, that Black history should be presented within the traditionally organized chronological United States history curriculum throughout the school year, rather than restricting it to a period of two or four weeks. The curriculum should provide for considerable student participation in the teaching-learning process, and many primary materials should be used toward this end. Knowledge about Black history should and must be accompanied by the students' understanding and awareness of the Black experience, the basic forces which have affected this nation's Black citizens. In other words we are concerned with both the cognitive and the affective domains of Black history, as we seek to fill in many omissions and to remedy many commissions in the treatment of that history.

Clearly, this guide is provisional in nature. Before it takes any more permanent form, the recommendations, critiques, and questions that inevitably will emerge from teachers' use of the guide in the American history courses will be most seriously considered. In particular, there will be suggestions for additions and various kinds of modifications; all of this information will be vital to the continuous improvement of the guide.

The Center has been privileged to extend hospitality to the curriculum groups and to associate itself with the development of the guide. We hope to continue to contribute toward the cause of imparting to our students the experiences and the history of all groups who have given so fully to our nation's history.

John S. Gibson, Director
Lincoln Filene Center
Tufts University

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THE NEGRO IN UNITED STATES HISTORY

A RESOURCE GUIDE

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A Dream Deferred

During World War II, Franklin Roosevelt told Winston Churchill that the British colonial system should be examined under the harsh spotlight of world opinion. Churchill replied, "And when you do, Mr. President, will you turn that same spotlight on Georgia?"

Before America could take steps to solve its "Negro problem," it had to acknowledge that a problem existed. Responsibility for our indifference must be shared by historians, who have been unconscious accomplices in omitting Black history and distorting much White history. Our textbooks are replete with examples, such as this from a standard college text:

> As for Sambo . . . there is some reason to believe that he suffered less than any other class in the South from its "particular institution." *

Today, largely through the efforts of Negro historians, we have a clearer perspective on the role of the Negro in American history. This new knowledge has not yet been integrated into the textbooks, and the purpose of this handbook is to supply an overlay to supplement a high school textbook. The material is not meant to be taught as a single unit, and the teacher must select those parts which he thinks suitable. Assuming that controversy will facilitate pupil participation, the readings have been designed for this purpose. One possible technique is to duplicate the readings for distribution to each pupil. The selections are not exhaustive and merely serve to illustrate an important point of view.

The paradox of the Negro's struggle with America is that defeat for the Negro is defeat for America. To help him in his fight for first-class citizenship, a revised history can provide him with an indispensable weapon -- Black pride.

The new history can broaden the understanding of White Americans, but its main effect will be to provide young Negroes with a knowledge that their people too shared in the building of our country. To provide Black heroes to emulate and identify with can eliminate the feeling of inferiority that has so often generated self-defeating and antisocial behavior. And in the final reckoning, a corrected presentation of American history is not only justifiable but is a social necessity.

---

* Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager, Growth of the American Republic. New York: Oxford University Press, 1942, p. 537

ORGANIZATION OF MATERIALS

I.	Unit	An area of history organized chronologically and topically
II.	Objectives	Main ideas to be conveyed conceptually. Teachers may select other ideas for consideration.
III.	Readings	Appropriate selections which will serve to point out direction for further student investigation
IV.	Discussion Questions	Designed to promote pupil interaction. These questions will again become appropriate after further investigation has been made by the pupils. "Have you changed your opinion after more evidence is in?"
V.	Activities	Designed to motivate further independent study on the part of the students
VI.	Suggested Resources	Readily available materials specifically oriented to individual unit areas
VII.	Audio-Visual Material	Appropriate to the units and usually available through the Audio-Visual Department of the Boston Schools
VIII.	Bibliography	A comprehensive selection of sources offering a wide range of related readings to student and teacher

Key to Suggested Resources

Readings

"1"	Indicates material appropriate for "below average" readers
"2"	Indicates material appropriate for "average" readers
"3"	Indicates material appropriate for "above average" readers
"T"	Indicates material appropriate for teachers

(Comprehension levels determined from Boston Public Library Reading List and Committee consensus)

Audio-Visual Material

"J"	Indicates material suitable for Junior High School
"S"	Indicates material suitable for Senior High School
*	Indicates material available from Audio-Visual Department

(Levels determined by Audio-Visual Department, Boston Public Schools)

Any combination of letters or digits will convey that the materials are appropriate on all levels indicated by the key.

I

AFRICAN BACKGROUND

Objectives:

1. To develop an appreciation of the African cultural heritage
2. To create an awareness of elements of African culture in our society today

America has an African as well as a European background.

Though African history has been largely neglected, impressive civilizations existed in West Africa as long as eight hundred years ago. Ghana, Mali, and Songhay had well-organized empires extending over vast areas.

African Culture:

> The Negroes who came to the new world varied widely in physical type and ways of life, but there were many common patterns of culture. Whatever the type of state, the varied groups all operated under orderly governments, with established legal codes, and under well-organized social systems. The individual might find it necessary to submerge his will into the collective will, but he shared a deep sense of group identity, a feeling of belonging. And there was ample scope for personal expression -- in crafts and art, in worship, or in music and the dance.

Quarles, The Negro in the Making of America, p. 18

A Slave Trader Talks of Africa:

> . . . my hut was visited by most of the village dames and damsels. One brought a pint of rice; another some roots of cassava; another, a few spoonfuls of palm oil; another a bunch of peppers; while the oldest lady of the party made herself particularly remarkable by the gift of a splendid fowl. . . .

There was nothing peculiar in this exhibition of hospitality, on account of my nationality. It was the mere fulfullment of a Bager Law; and the poorest black stranger would have shared the right as well as my self. I could not help thinking that I might have travelled from one end of England or America to the other, without meeting a Bager welcome. Indeed, it seemed somewhat questionable, whether it were better for the English to civilize Africa, or for the Bagers to send missionaries to their brethren in Britain.

Meyer Brantz, ed., Captain Canot, or Twenty Years of an African Slaver. New York, 1954, p. 180

For Discussion:

1. Were American slaveholders aware of the Africans' cultural background?
2. What elements of African culture are a part of American Life today?
3. Is there such a thing as "cultural imperialism"? Give examples today.

- - - *** - - -

Slavery in Africa:

The story of segregation in the United States begins three centuries ago in Africa. Out of that continent, whip-scarred, in chains, came the ancestors of nearly all the Negroes who live in the United States today....

When the first European explorers pushed down the West Coast of Africa in the 15th and 16th centuries, they found slavery widely established in a huge region from the Senegal River to the southern limits of Angola. Slavery was, and for many years had been, a normal condition of native life.

Life Magazine, September 3, 1956

For Discussion:

1. How did Europeans justify the enslavement of Africans?
2. How did the Atlantic slave trade differ from slavery in Europe? (profit motive)

Suggested Activities:

1. Referring to the attached map, trace on an outline map of Africa the three great empires of Ghana, Mali, Songhay. Include the "Ivory Coast," the "Slave Coast," and the "Gold Coast."
2. Visit the African exhibits in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.
3. Participate in a guided tour of The Museum of Negro History (on Charles Street, in Boston) and the Black Heritage Trail which begins there.
4. Have panel discussions on the topics: "On the influence of Black heritage today" and "The effects of Black heritage in various areas of American life today."
5. Compare the Black empires at their heights with nations of Europe as to levels of civilization, military might, and the extent of territory controlled.
6. Obtain from the library Life Educational Reprint 46 on African slavery (September 3, 1956) and 61 on American slavery (November 22, 1968). Compare and contrast the two in oral reports to the class.

Suggested Resources:

Franklin, John Hope, From Slavery to Freedom. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1968 3 - T
Davidson, Basil, The Lost Cities of Africa. Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1959 2 - 3 - T
____________, A Guide to African History. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1965 2 - 3 - T
McKown, Robin, The Congo: River of Mystery. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1968. 1 - 2 - 3

Audio-Visual Material:

Map, included in manual

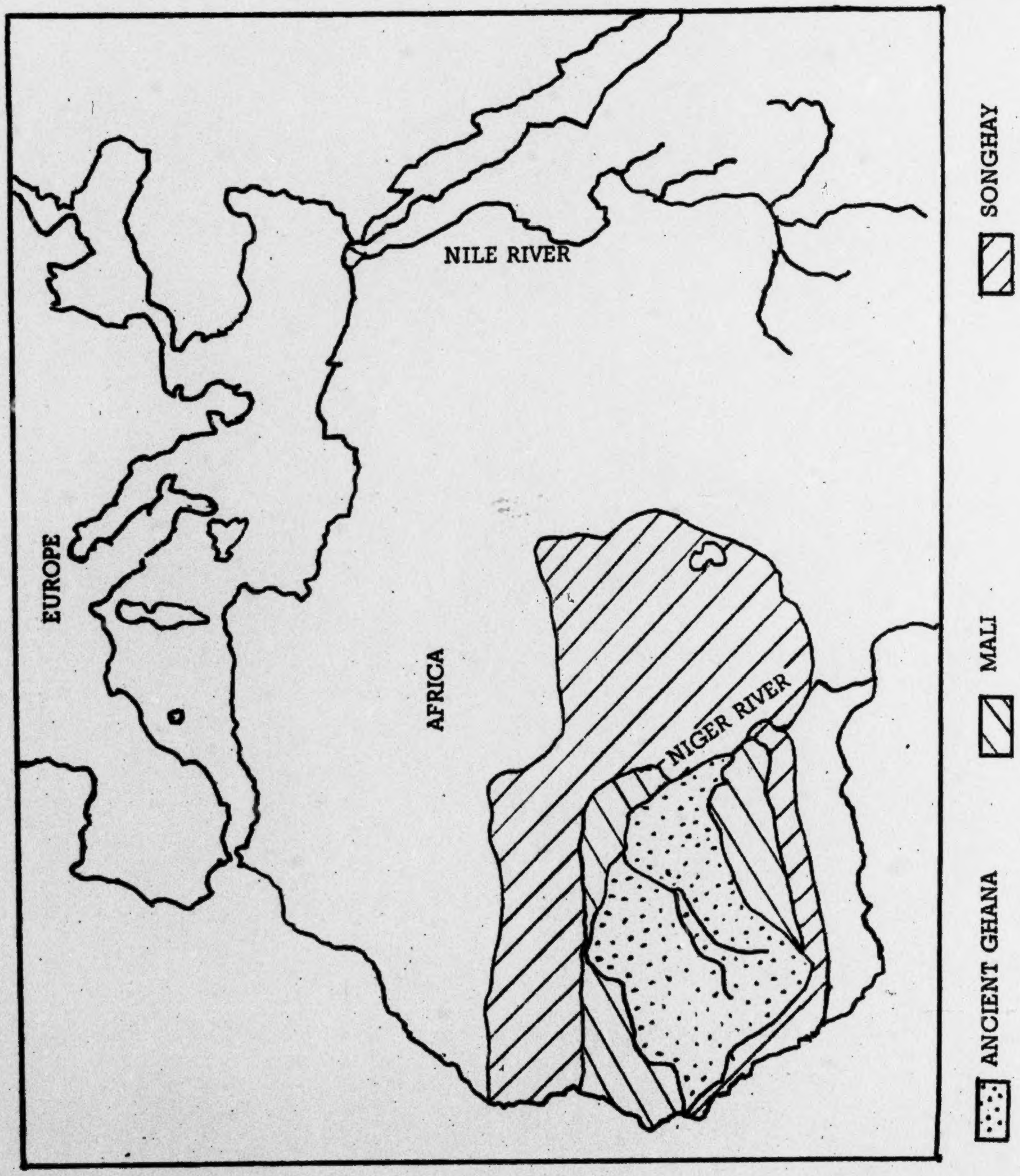
Film: "Heritage of the Negro"
From Boston University Krasker Memorial Film Library

Filmstrip: "From Africa to America"
McGraw-Hill Filmstrips

Transparency: AEVAC, Inc., Afro-American History Series, AF 41-1

ANCIENT TERRITORIES OF WEST AFRICA

8


NILE RIVER
EUROPE
AFRICA
NIGER RIVER
SONGHAY
MALI
ANCIENT GHANA

II

EXPLORATION

Objective: To show Negro participation in early explorations in the new world

The first Africans came to the new world with the explorers. Blacks were with Columbus, Balboa, Cortez, and Pizarro. Estevanico, a scout with Narvaez's expedition, later led the search for the Seven Cities of Cibola. He found Cibola, but lost his life. He was the first to explore present-day New Mexico.

Friar Marcos de Niza Tells of Estevanico's Last Adventure

> . . . I sent /Estevanico/ the Negro another way, whom I commanded to goe directly northward fiftie or threescore leagues, to see if by that way hee might learne any newes of any notable thing which wee sought to discover, and I agreed with him, that if hee found any knowledge of any peoples and riche Countrey which were of great importance, that hee should goe no further, but should returne in person, or should sende mee certain Indians with that token which wee were agreed upon, to wit, that if it were but a meane thing, hee shoulde send mee a White Crosse of one handful long; and if it were any great matter, one of two handfuls long; and if it were a Countrey greater and better than Nueva Espanna, hee should send mee a great cross. So the sayde /Estevanico/ departed from mee on Passion-sunday after dinner: and within foure dayes after the messengers of /Estevanico/ returned unto me with a great Crosse as high as a man, and they brought me word from /Estevanico/ that I should forthwith come away after him, for hee had found people which gave him information of a very mighty Province, and that he had sent me one of the said Indians. This Indian told me, that it was thirtie dayes journey from the Towne where /Estevanico/ was, until the first Citie of the sayde Province, which is called Ceuola. Hee affirmed also that there are seven great Cities in this Province, all under one Lord, the houses whereof are made of Lyme and Stone, and are very great . . . and that in the gates of the principall houses there are many Turquesstones cunningly wrought.

Quoted from Hakluyt in *Eyewitness*,
p. 17

For Discussion:

1. What were the objectives of Estevanico's last adventure?
2. What was the significance of the "White Crosse"?

The Spaniard, Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon, in 1526 founded a settlement near the Pedee River in present-day South Carolina. There were 500 Spaniards and 100 Negro slaves. The slaves revolted and fled to the Indian settlements. When the Spaniards later evacuated the area, some of the slaves remained behind.

For Discussion:

Does this mean that Negroes were the first permanent non-Indian inhabitants of what is now the United States?

Suggested Activities:

1. On an outline map of the United States trace the routes followed by Estevanico, de Soto, and Coronado. Locate Vasquez de Ayllon's colony. Use the accompanying map as a guide.
2. Set up a role-playing activity in which the Spanish monarch interviews a member of the Cabeza de Vaca expedition who is seeking funds for further exploration.
3. Set up another role-playing conversation between the Chief of Cibola and Estevanico.

* * * *

Suggested Resources:

Bennett, Lerone, Before the Mayflower: A History of the Negro in America, 1619-1966. Chicago, Illinois: Johnson Publishing Company, Inc., 1966 1 - 2 - 3 - T

"The Black Conquistador," in Mankind, Volume 1, Number 5

Franklin, John Hope, From Slavery to Freedom. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1968 2 - 3 - T

Katz, William Loren, Eyewitness: The Negro in American History. New York: Pitman Publishing Corporation, 1967 2 - 3 - T

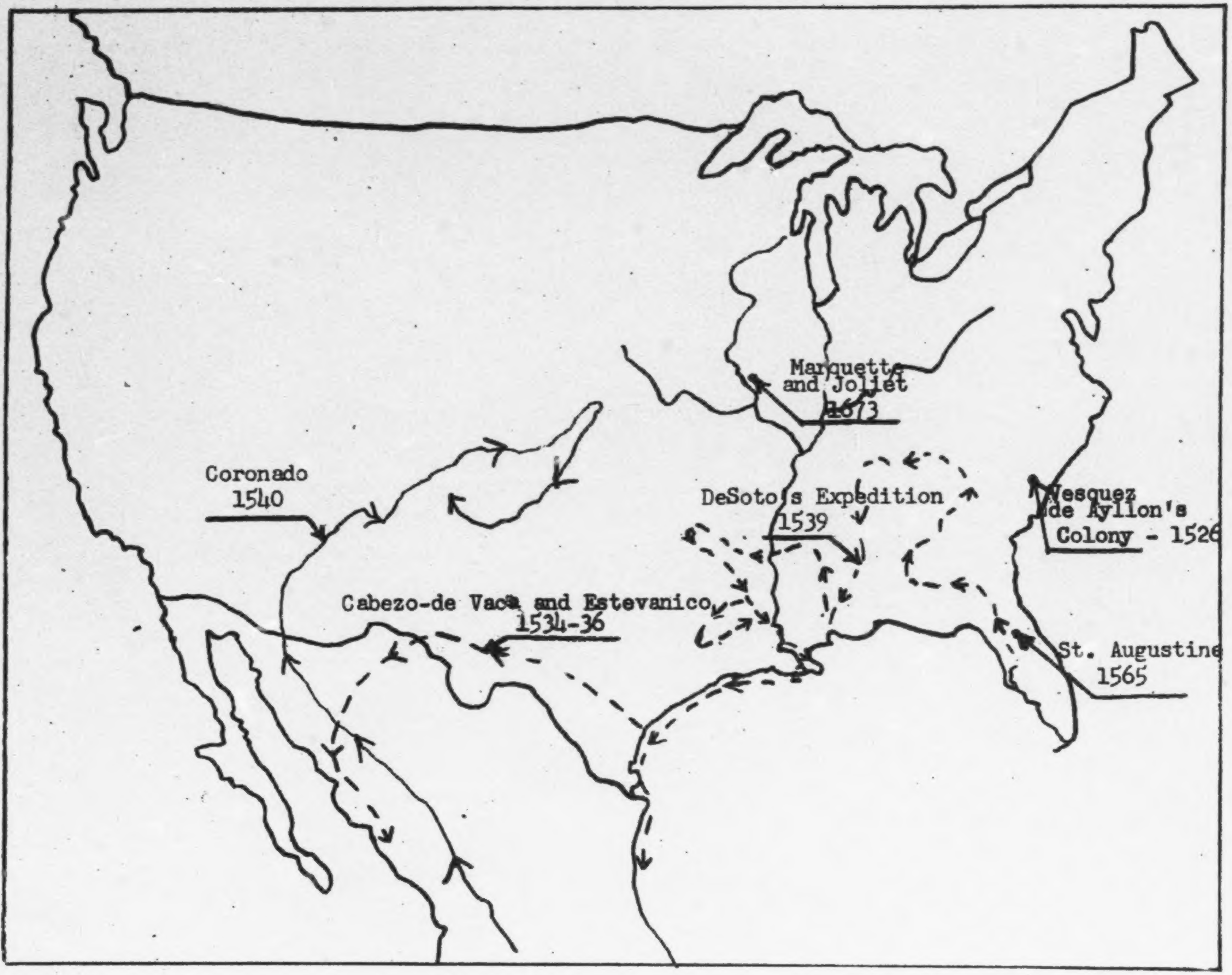
Quarles, Benjamin, The Negro in the Making of America. New York: Collier Books, 1968 1 - 2 - 3 - T

Audio-Visual Material:

Films: "The Untouched Land," 16 minutes. EJS*
"Into the New World," 24 minutes. EJS*

Filmstrip: "History of Black America" - Series, "The African Past," Universal Education and Visual Arts

Transparencies: Teachese, "History of the U. S.," Units 1-4. JS
AEVAC, Inc., Afro-American History Series, AF 41-2


Marquette
and Joliet
1673
Coronado
1540
DeSoto's Expedition
1539
Vesquez
de Ayllon's
Colony - 1526
Cabezo-de Vaca and Estevanico
1534-36
St. Augustine
1565

III

THE REVOLUTION

Objectives:

1. To understand the nature of revolution and the American Revolution today
2. To illustrate the attitudes of patriot leaders toward slavery
3. To bring out the role of Negroes in the Revolution
4. To illustrate the expectations of the Negro

The Revolution was not easily won. The divided loyalties of the colonists were unified by an increasing spirit of independence strengthened by the arbitrary acts of the British.

* * * *

The results of a revolution are impossible to predict. The victory of the colonists brought political changes, but did not significantly improve the life of the Negro.

> The men of our Revolution were neither levellers nor theorists. Their aims were distinctly political, not social. They fought for their own concrete rights as Englishmen, not for the abstract rights of man, nor for liberty, equality, and fraternity. The French rose in revolt against both a vicious political system and a vicious social system. With enthusiastic ardor they proceeded to sweep away abuses of all sorts, and to create not simply a new government, but a new France. . . . That they cared more for the social than for the political results of the Revolution was evident when, after a few years, believing it impossible to retain both, they threw themselves into the arms of the young Corsican who gave promise of preserving for them their new social system. Not so for the Anglo-Saxon. He had no wish to destroy or to recast his social system. He sought for political freedom, but he had no mind to allow revolution to extend itself beyond its limited sphere. Most of those who originated it had no other than a political program, and would have considered its work done

when political independence of Great Britain had been secured. But who can say to the waves of revolution: Thus far and no farther.

J. Franklin Jameson, The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement. Boston: Beacon Press, 1960

For Discussion:

1. Was the war with England a revolution or a rebellion? What is the difference?
2. Did the American Revolution fulfill its objectives? In what respects?
3. The Declaration of Independence appealed to a higher law than English law. Was this merely a revolutionary technique? It states that "all men are created equal." But did it mean all men?

In 1774, two years before the Declaration of Independence was signed, Negroes in Boston petitioned the General Court of Massachusetts seeking the same inalienable rights that the colonists desired.

Negroes Petition for Freedom:

The Petition of a Grate Number of Blackes of this Province who by divine permission are held in a state of Slavery within the bowels of a free and christian Country

Humbly Shewing

That your Petitioners apprehind we have in common with all other men a naturel right to our freedoms without Being deprive'd of them by our fellow men as we are a freeborn Pepel and have never forfeited this Blessing by aney compact or agreement whatever. But we were unjustly dragged by the cruel hand of power from our dearest frinds and sum of us stolen from the bosoms of our tender Parents and from a Populous Pleasant and plentiful country and Brought hither to be made slaves for Life in a Christian land. Thus we are deprived of everything that hath a tendency to make life even tolerable, and endearing ties of husband and wife we are strangers to for we are no longer man and wife than our masters or mistresses thinkes proper marred or onmarred. Our children are also taken from us by force and sent many miles from us. . . .

By our deplorable situation we are rendered incapable of shewing our obedience to Almighty God how can a slave perform the duties of a husband to a wife or parent to his child. . . . How can the child obey their parents in all things. There is a great number of us sencear . . . members of the Church of Christ how can the master and the slave be said to fulfil that command Live in Love. How can the master be said to Beare my Borden when he Beares me down whith the Have chanes of slavery and person against my will and how can we fulfill our parte of duty to him whilst in this situation.

If there had bin aney Law to hold us in Bondage we are Humbely of the Opinion ther never was aney to inslave our children for life when Born in a free Countrey. We therefor Bage your Excellency and Honours will give this its deer weight and consideration and that you will accordingly cause an act of the legislative to be pessed that we may obtain our Natural right our freedoms and our children be set at lebety at the yeare of twenty one for whoues sekes more petequeley your Petitioners is in Duty ever to pray.

From the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 5th Series, III (Boston, 1877), pp. 432-437.

For Discussion:

1. Why did the slaves have to petition?
2. What were the slaves petitioning for?
3. Did the slaves question the legality of slavery?
4. Is there a moral issue involved here?
5. How did the slaves feel about their children?

Suggested Activities:

1. Compare similar passages in the Petition and the Declaration of Independence.
2. Find those passages in the Declaration of Independence which imply an antislavery point of view. Find in Jefferson's original draft those parts condemning slavery. Why were they finally left out? Write additions which you would have made to the Declaration of Independence.
3. Visit the Archives Division of the State House in Boston and report on antislavery documents to be seen there.

* * * *

Many patriot leaders were slaveowners, among them Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry, and George Washington.

A Slaveholder Tries to Explain:

> Is it not amazing that . . . in a country above all others fond of liberty that we find men . . . adopting a principle as destructive of liberty? Would anyone believe I am the master of slaves of my own purchase? I am drawn along by the general inconvenience of living here without them. I will not, I cannot justify it. . . . I will pay my respects to virtue's principles and lament my want of conformity to them. I believe a time will come when an opportunity will be offered to abolish this lamentable evil. . . . It is a debt we owe to the purity of our religion, to show that it is at variance with that law which warrants slavery.
>
> Letter of Patrick Henry to
> Anthony Benezet, 1773

For Discussion:

1. Discuss Patrick Henry in relation to his dilemma of conscience. Are all revolutionaries faced with similar problems?
2. Henry recognized that his religion disapproved of slavery. If the laws of God conflict with those of man, where did his allegiance lie?

3. Were the colonists consistent in demanding freedom from England while denying freedom to the slaves?
4. A homeowner declares his freedom from prejudice, but then denies the right of a Black family to move into the neighborhood. He justifies it by claiming a possible decline in real estate values, but is this the whole story?

In 1776, despite the fact that many of his congregation had an interest in slavery, a Congregational minister from Rhode Island appealed to the Continental Congress to abolish the institution.

Opposed to Slavery:

> The slavery that now takes place is in a Christian land and without the express sanction of civil government; and it is notoriously unjust . . . and most masters have no color of claim to hold their servants in bondage. And this is become a general and crying sin for which we are under the awful frowns of heaven. These things make it duty to oppose . . . this evil practice which . . . threatens our ruin as a people.

The Works of Samuel Hopkins
(Boston, 1854), Vol. II, p. 557

For Discussion:

Contrast the effect of religion on Patrick Henry and Samuel Hopkins.

* * * *

A more practical approach was expressed by Alexander Hamilton in a letter to John Jay in March, 1779. When the success of the British troops in Georgia and South Carolina in early 1779 threatened to sever the South from the rest of the colonies, Hamilton suggested arming the slaves.

> I have not the least doubt that the Negroes will make very excellent soldiers, with proper management. I frequently hear . . . that they are too stupid to make soldiers.

This is so far from appearing to me a valid objection that I think their want of cultivation, joined to that habit of subordination which they acquire in a life servitude will make them better soldiers than our white inhabitants.

The contempt we have been taught to entertain for the blacks makes us fancy many things that are founded neither in reason nor in experience. . . . But it should be considered that if we do not make use of them in this way, the enemy probably will.

An essential point is to give them their freedom with their muskets. This will secure their fidelity and animate their courage, and I believe will have a good influence upon those who remain, by opening a door to their emancipation. This circumstance, I confess, has no small weight in inducing me to wish the success of the project; for the dictates of humanity and true policy equally interest me in favor of this unfortunate class of men.

The Correspondence and Public
Papers of John Jay, edited by
Henry P. Johnston, Vol. I,
pp. 191-193

For Discussion:

1. In being practical, was Hamilton any less of a humanitarian than the religiously oriented Hopkins?
2. How do the three letters reflect the roles of the writers?

Suggested Activity:

Respond by letter to the letters of Patrick Henry, Samuel Hopkins, and Alexander Hamilton.

Negroes participated in the struggle against England. Crispus Attucks, a runaway slave slain in the Boston Massacre, was one of the first to die.

When hostilities began, Washington at first refused to enlist Negroes. He rescinded his order later when the British offered freedom to slaves who would join them.

For Discussion:

Why did the British offer freedom to Negroes who would fight with them?

A Paradox:

> It always appeared a most iniquitous scheme to me to fight ourselves for what we are daily robbing and plundering from those who have as good a right to freedom as we have.

From a letter from Abigail Adams to
John Adams, 1774. Quoted in John Hope
Franklin's From Slavery to Freedom.
New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1967,
pp. 128-129

* * * *

The Expectations of the Black Man:

Is not all oppression vile?
When you attempt your freedom to defend,
Is reason yours, and partially your friend?
Be not deceived -- for reason pleads for all
Who by invasion and oppression fall.
I live a slave and am enslaved by those
who yet pretend with reason to oppose
All schemes oppressive; and the gods invoke
To curse with thunders the invaders yoke.
O mighty God! Let conscience seize the minds
O[illegible]consistent men, who wish to find
A partial god to vindicate their cause,
And plead their freedom, while they break its laws.

"A Negro"
Published in the New London Gazette,
May 1, 1772, and in the files of the
Massachusetts Historical Soceity

Before the Revolutionary War ended, Vermont, New Hampshire, and Pennsylvania had abolished slavery, and other states would follow their example. The Supreme Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts declared that slavery was abolished in 1780. (Walker v. Jenison, 1781; and Commonwealth v. Aves, 18 Peck. 193.)

For Discussion:

To what degree were the expectations of "A Negro" fulfilled?

Suggested Activities:

1. As a Virginia slaveowner, write a letter to British Governor Dunmore giving your views on his offer to free slaves who would fight the Americans.
2. Visit the site of the Boston Massacre at the corner of Congress and State Streets (note the plaque). Then prepare a newspaper report on the Massacre.
3. Through role playing, re-enact the trial of the British soldiers who had participated in the Massacre.
4. Visit the "Old Granary Burial Ground" and give a report on the graves there of heroes of the Revolution.
5. Visit the monument to those who fell in the Boston Massacre, on the Tremont Street side of the Boston Common. Prepare a dedication speech for the monument.
6. In a panel discussion, relate the violence during the Revolution to that in our cities today.
7. Find out what you can about Peter Salem, Salem Poor, and Phillis Wheatley.
8. At the siege of Savannah in 1779, the Fontages Legion of Negroes from Haiti fought against the British. Find through research something about other all-Negro units which participated in the Revolution.

* * * *

Suggested Resources:

Quarles, Benjamin, The Negro in the American Revolution. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1961 2 - 3 - T

_______________, The Negro in the Making of America. New York: Collier Books, 1964 2 - 3 - T

Woodson, Carter G., and Wesley, Charles, The Negro in Our History.
Washington, D. C.: Associated Publishers, Inc., 1962 3 - T

Audio-Visual Material:

Films: "Seeds of the Revolution (1763-1775)," 24 minutes. JS*
"Eve of the American Revolution," 17 minutes. JS*

Transparency: AEVAC, Inc., Afro-American History Series, AF 41-3

IV

THE CONSTITUTION

Objective: To consider how the Founding Fathers dealt with the issue of slavery

The improvised central government under the Articles of Confederation said little about the Negro. His hopes for equality were discouraged when Congress in 1781 fixed quotas for the army in proportion to the White population only. And yet in the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, Congress prohibited slavery north of the Ohio River. This represented the high-water mark in pro-Negro legislation.

This ambivalence on the part of the legislature was a reflection of the uncertainties of most Americans concerning the Negro. With the new Constitution, the Federal government was strengthened at the expense of the states, but the uncertainties remained and necessitated compromise on the slavery issue.

> The founding fathers were masters at the game of give and take. The South wanted concessions to protect the foreign slave trade until she had time to replenish her supply. She wanted concessions to protect masters whose slaves ran away. She wanted to count her slave population for representation in a national legislature. She could get these things if she in turn was ready to make compromises. The South did want them, and she did make the necessary compromises.
>
> Benjamin Quarles, The Negro in the Making of America, op. cit., p. 60

> A reason why Northern liberals among the Fathers turned aside from an attack on slavery was their commitment to private property. . . . What it came down to was as Charles C. Pinckney put it, that "property in slaves should not be exposed to danger under a government instituted for the protection of property . . . " Property, apart from interest, the belief that private property was the

> indispensable foundation for person freedom, made it more difficult for Northerners to confront the fact of slavery squarely.
>
> Staughton Lynd, Slavery and the Founding Fathers in Black History: A Reappraisal, edited by Melvin Drimmer. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1968

Slavery was hotly debated at the Constitutional Convention and caused as great a rift as the issue of the larger states against the smaller ones. Though most Southerners wished to protect it, others were passionate in their opposition.

A Virginian Opposes Slavery:

> Slavery discourages arts and manufactures. The poor despise labor when performed by slaves. They prevent the immigration of whites, who really enrich and strengthen a country. They produce the most pernicious effect on manners. Every master of slaves is born a petty tyrant. They bring the judgment of heaven on a country. As nations cannot be rewarded or punished in the next world they must be in this. By an inevitable chain of cause and effect, providence punishes national sins by national calamities.
>
> It is essential from every point of view that the General Government shall have the power to prevent the increase of slavery.
>
> George Mason, quoted in Lyon, The Constitution and the Men Who Made It, p. 181

The View of Gouverneur Morris of Pennsylvania:

> I never will concur in upholding domestic slavery. It is a nefarious institution. It is the curse of heaven on the States where it prevails. Compare the free regions of the Middle States, where a rich and noble cultivation marks the prosperity

> and happiness of the people, with the misery and poverty which overspread the barren wastes of Virginia, Maryland and other States having Slaves.
>
> Ibid., p. 177

As finally constructed, the new Constitution contained the 3/5 compromise on voting and taxation, an extension of the slave trade for 20 years, and the inclusion of a fugitive slave law. This was the price which the North paid for a unified government.

For Discussion:

1. What was the chief concession sought by the South?
2. Why was the North willing to agree to southern demands?
3. Which section of the country would benefit more from a stronger union?
4. Were New Englanders wise to compromise over slavery in order to have a unified government?

Suggested Activities:

1. Write a letter to the editor of an imaginary eighteenth-century newspaper either supporting or opposing the compromise on slavery.
2. After explaining the process of amending the Constitution, find those Amendments which deal with the Negro.

* * * *

Lingering suspicion of a strong central government forced the eventual inclusion of the Bill of Rights in the Constitution. Although this contained a guarantee of civil liberties, they were not fully extended to the Negro.

For Discussion:

Can the Bill of Rights be enforced?

> Americans are accustomed to write their ideals into laws. . . . American law, thus, often contains rules which are not

> enforceable but which merely express hopes, desires, advice, or dreams. Legislating ideals has the "function" not only of giving them high publicity and prestige but also of dedicating the nation to the task of gradually approaching them.

Gunnar Myrdal, The American Dilemma. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944

Suggested Activity:

Make a list of the protections for slavery in the Constitution.

* * * *

Suggested Resource:

Lyon, Hastings, The Constitution and the Men Who Made It. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1936 3 - T

Audio-Visual Material:

Films: "Bill of Rights of the United States," 20 minutes. JS*
"Constitution of the United States," 22 minutes. JS*
"The Constitution," 24 minutes. JS*

Filmstrips: "Slavery in the Young Republic," McGraw-Hill The History of the American Negro series, color
"The Negro in U. S. History," 51 frames, Scholastic Filmstrips
"Slavery and Freedom in the English Colonies," in The History of Black America Series, Universal Education and Visual Arts, New York

Transparencies: Teachese, "History of the United States," Units 2-4*
AEVAC, Inc., Afro-American History Series, AF-4

V

WESTWARD EXPANSION

Objective: To show that Negroes played an active role in the War of 1812 and the development of the West

Cotton culture and slavery went together. As the cotton fields spread westward along the Gulf of Mexico, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas were admitted to the Union as slave states, altering the natural democratic atmosphere of the frontier.

Frontier Freedom Defined:

> A spirit of freedom was dominant on the frontier. . . . The ideal of the West was not so much, as Professor Turner has suggested, the right of every man to rise to the full measure of his own stature as it was the right of every man to take advantage of every opportunity which presented itself to gain the ends he desired and ignore the basic, ethical restraints which would have made some distinction between liberty and license. It is conceivable, therefore, that the frontier, with its attractive land and its spirit of ruthless freedom, may actually have encouraged the westward march of slavery in the early part of the 19th century.
>
> J. H. Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom, p. 168

For Discussion:

1. What does Professor Franklin mean in distinguishing between "liberty and license"?
2. Today's demonstrators are often accused of passing from liberty to license. Is this accusation valid?

* * * *

The frontier was a natural magnet for runaway slaves as well as for free Negroes. Although it is impossible to determine the share played by Negroes in opening the West, it was certainly considerable.

Contributing to the success of the Lewis and Clark expedition was York, the slave of William Clark, who was given his freedom at the end of the two and a half years of the trip.

Jim Beckwourth escaped slavery and lived his life in the Far West as one of the most famous frontiersmen. He spent much time among the Indians and eventually was made a Crow chief. He discovered Beckwourth Pass in the Sierra Nevadas and later fought in Stephen Kearny's force in the struggle for independence in California.

A unit of 500 free Louisiana Negroes was mustered by General Andrew Jackson and played a major role in repulsing the British attack on New Orleans in the War of 1812.

George Bush, who had been with Jackson at New Orleans, led the first group of Americans to settle north of the Columbia River in Oregon Territory.

Another western explorer was Jacob Dodson, a free Negro, who was with John C. Fremont and Kit Carson in Oregon and California.

Large numbers of runaways took refuge with the Indians, especially in Florida, where Negroes played a major part in the resistance offered to the United States army during the Seminole Wars.

Negro cowboys were to be found throughout the West. They herded cattle in Texas and drove them along the trails to Kansas. They were at the Alamo and fought in the war for Texas independence as well as in the Mexican War.

* * * *

Suggested Activity:

Construct a map showing the dates of admission of new states to the Union from 1783 to 1853. Identify the slave states.

Suggested Resources:

Durham, Philip, and Jones, Everett L., The Negro Cowboys. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1965 1 - 2 - 3
Franklin, John H., From Slavery to Freedom. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1967 3 - T

Katz, William L., Eyewitness: The Negro in American History. New York: Pitman Publishing Corporation, 1967 1 - 2 - 3 - T

Audio-Visual Material:

Film: "Territorial Expansion of the United States, 1783-1853," 20 minutes. JS*

Transparencies: Teachese, "Westward Expansion," Unit 5*
AEVAC, Inc., Afro-American History Series, AF 41-10*

VI

SLAVERY

Objectives:

1. To present background material on the establishment of the "peculiar institution"
2. To develop understanding of how antislavery sentiment was formed and expressed
3. To depict conditions of daily life among slaves in the South
4. To show contrasting views on slavery

With the discovery of the new world, Indians were sent to Europe to augment the supply of Negro and Moslem slaves. In 1495, Columbus sent 500 Indians to Spain to be sold in the slave markets of Seville. In 1496, his brother sent 300 more. Although King Ferdinand ordered them sold, Queen Isabella took pity on them and had them returned to Hispaniola. She did not extend her charity to Negores, because they already had been enslaved in their own lands and it was thought that they would profit by being in a Christian country.

By royal decree in 1501, Ferdinand authorized exportation of Negro slaves to America. But after his death in 1516, the regent, Cardinal Ximenes, forbade the trade. This respite was short-lived, and in 1517 Bishop Las Casas succeeded in having the trade reopened as a measure to alleviate the condition of the Indians. After this, an unending stream of Black slaves poured into America.

The Middle Passage

Estimates of the number of slaves removed from Africa vary greatly. A reasonable estimate is that perhaps 15 million were brought to the new world. About three million more lost their lives en route, and perhaps six million were killed in African wars and slave raids. Although the net loss to Africa thus was 24 million, West Africa, from which most of the slaves came, is today the most heavily populated part of the continent.

Of the 15 million who were brought to America, only one million came to the present United States. Yet in 1969, there are 22 million Negroes in the United States and 24 million in Latin America.

Nathaniel Weyl, The Negro in American Civilization

For Discussion:

Does this last statistic seem to indicate that Latin-American slavery was more severe than in the United States?

* * * *

After the slaves were purchased from the African chiefs, they were packed as tightly as possible into slave ships. This "middle passage," the trip to the West Indies, had a high mortality rate due to shipboard revolts, suicides, disease, and lack of sanitation. Conditions were so bad that some slavers could be smelled before they were sighted, and most were unusable for a second voyage. But profits usually were at least 100 per cent.

A Slave Describes the Ship:

> The stench of the hold while we were on the coast was so intolerably loathsome, that it was dangerous to remain there for any time. . . . The shrieks of the women, and the groans of the dying, rendered the whole a scene of horror almost inconceivable. Happily perhaps for myself I was soon reduced so low here that it was thought necessary to keep me almost always on deck; and from my extreme youth, I was not put in fetters. In this situation I expected every hour to share the fate of my companions, some of whom were almost daily brought upon deck at the point of death which I began to hope would soon put an end to my miseries.

The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Oloudah Equiano or Gustavus Vasa, Written by Himself (London, 1793), pp. 46-53

Suggested Activity:

Write a letter from a common seaman on a slaveship describing conditions.

A European Immigrant Ship:

> As we ascended the side of this hulk, a most revolting scene of want and misery presented itself. The eye involuntarily turned for some relief from the horrible picture of human suffering, which this living sepulchre afforded. Mr. _______________ enquired if there were any shoe-makers on board. The Captain advanced: his appearance bespoke his office; he is an American, tall, determined, and with an eye that flashes with Algerine cruelty. He called in the Dutch language for shoe-makers, and never can I forget the scene which followed. The poor fellows came running up with unspeakable delight, no doubt anticipating a relief from their loathsome dungeon. Their clothes, if rags deserve that denomination, actually perfumed the air. Some were without shirts, others had this article of dress, but of a quality as coarse as the worst packing cloth. I enquired of several if they could speak English. They smiled and gabbled, "No Engly, no Engly, -- one Engly talk ship." The deck was filthy. The cooking, washing, and necessary departments were close together. Such is the mercenary barbarity of the Americans who are engaged in this trade that they crammed into one of those vessels 500 passengers, 80 of whom died on the passage. The price for women is about 70 dollars, men 80 dollars, boys 60 dollars. When they saw at our departure that we had not purchased, their countenances fell to that standard of stupid gloom which seemed to place them a link below rational beings.

H. B. Fearon, A Narrative of a
Journey of Five Thousand Miles
through America (London, 1818),
pp. 148-150

Slavery existed in the West Indies and on the Latin American mainland for a hundred years before the first Negroes arrived at the Jamestown, Virginia, colony in 1619. These 20 Negroes, who were sold from a Dutch ship, were indentured servants, not slaves. After they had worked for a number of years, they were given their freedom. Not until after 1675 were Negroes brought into the British colonies in significant numbers and permanently bound to their masters.

For Discussion:

At least half of all colonial immigrants were indentured servants. Is this status greatly different from slavery?

* * * *

By 1775, of two and a half million British colonists, 700, 000 were Negroes. During and shortly after the Revolution, all states stopped the trade in slaves. South Carolina reopened it in 1803, and it was closed by Federal law in 1808. A half million slaves had come to the country by then, and another half million would come illegally before 1860.

In 1807, Britain had halted its slave trade. Shortly after, both Great Britain and the United States set up slave patrols off the coast of Africa, but these were largely ineffective. After 1820, United States law classified the slave trade as piracy and provided a death penalty, which, however, was not imposed before the Civil War.

For Discussion:

Why, when slavery seemed to be dying, did it suddenly revive? /American cotton production in 1791 was 400 bales. Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin in 1793. In 1810, 177, 824 bales were produced, and 3, 841, 416 in 1860./

Suggested Activity:

Set up a panel discussion on the influence of the industrial revolution on slavery.

* * * *

Despite the illegal importation of slaves after 1808, the chief increase came from breeding slaves within the Southern states. Negro women were encouraged to have as many babies as possible, each one being worth $200 at birth. Virginia was the chief breeding state, exporting 300, 000 slaves to other states in the period 1830-1860.

For Discussion:

1. Why was it illegal to import slaves from Africa, but not from Virginia into the other states?
2. If interstate commerce was controlled by the Federal government, why was there no attempt to interfere with this trade?

Slave Revolts

Slavery in the Americas was marked by a continual succession of revolts, starting with one on the sugar plantation of Diego Columbus in Hispaniola in 1522. In the early years of the nineteenth century, Negroes on Haiti took control of their island, and this success encouraged slaves in the South to insurrection. In 1800, Gabriel Prosser organized an attack on Richmond that failed when two of his own men informed on him. He was executed.

In 1822, Denmark Vesey, a free Negro in Charleston, South Carolina, organized slaves for revolt. He too was betrayed by friends and hanged.

Many Negroes fought with the Indians against Whites. The Seminole Wars in Florida were prolonged by the participation of fugitive slaves.

The greatest threat to the South was Nat Turner's revolt in Southampton County, Virginia, in 1831. Turner felt that it was his divine mission to lead his people out of bondage. His men killed 60 Whites before they were defeated. He too was hanged.

After this, the southern Whites lived in continual fear. Special troops were organized for protection, and the area was an armed camp. Negroes were placed under greater restrictions than before, and free speech became a thing of the past.

In 1849, Virginia passed a law making it a crime to say, "Owners have no right of property in slaves."

John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom, pp. 205-213.

Unacknowledged Heroes:

> The record of slave resistance forms a chapter in the story of the endless struggle to give dignity to human life. . . . As the American Revolution produced folk heroes, so also did southern slavery -- heroes who, in both cases, gave much for the cause of human freedom.
>
> Stampp, The Peculiar Institution,
> pp. 91-92

For Discussion:

1. How did slaveholders react to the revolt in Haiti?
2. How did this revolt lead to the acquisition of Louisiana?

Suggested Activity:

Give a book report on Confessions of Nat Turner by William Styron.

Abolition

Abolitionism was more than an antislavery cause. It was also an intellectual and religious crusade. It had developed with the social, political, and economic issues that characterized the trend toward sectionalism. From its religious beginnings, it consistently viewed slavery as a moral evil with which there could be no compromise.

By 1840, the division between proslavery and antislavery forces was deep. As the struggle entered its political phase, the abolitionists saw the situation's becoming more alarming. The Constitution had protected slavery, partly out of the need for compromise, partly because slavery had been viewed from that point in time as a dying institution. Now the abolitionists saw the rights of all free men being threatened. The right of petition regarding slavery was suspended in Congress from 1836 to 1844; freedom of speech and other freedoms were restricted in the South; fugitive slave laws jeopardized free Negroes. Such developments were a call to action.

In 1829, David Walker, a free Negro who had moved from North Carolina to Boston, published an appeal to southern slaves to throw off their shackles. This was widely circulated in the South.

Walker Advocates Violence:

> Now I ask you, had you not rather be killed than to be a slave of a tyrant, who takes the life of your mother, wife, and dear little children? Look upon your mother, wife, and children, and answer God Almighty; and believe this, that it is no more harm for you to kill a man who is trying to kill you, than it is for you to take a drink of water when thirsty; in fact, the man who will stand still and let another murder him, is worse than an infidel.
>
> Now, Americans! I ask you candidly, was your suffering under Great Britain, one-one hundredths part as cruel and tyrannical as you have rendered ours under you. . . ?

Quoted from A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States, edited by Herbert Aptheker. New York: The Citadel Press, 1968, p. 97

Suggested Activity:

Report on Negro leaders with similar views today.

* * * *

With the founding of The Liberator by William Lloyd Garrison in 1831, abolitionism reached a new peak of activity. Recognizing that Federal law protected slavery, antislavery men appealed to a higher law.

William Lloyd Garrison Explains his Attitude:

> I do not wish to think, or speak, or write, with moderation. No! No! Tell a man whose house is on fire, to give a moderate alarm; tell him to moderately rescue his wife from the hands of the ravisher; tell the mother to gradually extricate her babe from the

> fire into which it has fallen; -- but urge me not to use moderation in a cause like the present. I am in earnest -- I will not equivocate -- I will not excuse -- I will not retreat a single inch -- And I will be heard.

Editorial in the first issue of The Liberator, Vol. 1, No. 1, January 1, 1831, quoted in Franklin's From Slavery to Freedom, op. cit., p. 244

Foremost among the Negro abolitionists was Frederick Douglass, an escaped slave.

Douglass Comments on the Fourth of July:

> What, to the American slave, is your 4th of July? I answer: a day that reveals to him more than all other days in the year, the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim. To him your celebration is a sham; your boasted liberty, an unholy license; . . . your sounds of rejoicing are empty and heartless; . . .
>
> You boast of your love and liberty, your superior civilization, and your pure Christianity, while the whole political power of the nation is solemnly pledged to support and perpetuate the enslavement of three million of your countrymen. . . . You invite to your shores fugitives of oppression from abroad, honor them . . . but the fugitives from your own land you advertise, hunt, arrest, shoot, and kill.

Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass, edited by Philip S. Foner. New York: International Publishers, Inc., 1950

Suggested Activity:

Compare the role of White liberals in today's civil rights movement with the roles of early abolitionists.

The Underground Railroad

By 1855, 60,000 slaves had been helped to escape from the South by means of the Underground Railroad.

Two Slaves Escape:

> William and Ellen Craft, man and wife, lived with different masters in the State of Georgia. Ellen is so near white that she can pass without suspicion for a white woman. Her husband is much darker. He is a mechanic, and by working nights and Sundays, he laid up money enough to bring himself and his wife out of slavery. . . . Ellen dressed in man's clothing, and passed as the master, while her husband passed as the servant. In this way they travelled from Georgia to Philadelphia. They are not out of the reach of the bloodhounds of the South.

The Liberator, January 12, 1849,
quoted in Aptheker, op. cit., Vol. I,
pp. 277-278

Suggested Activity:

Prepare a possible escape route to be used by the Crafts.

A White Conductor Remembers the Underground Railroad:

> There were a few wise and careful managers among the colored people, but it was not safe to trust all of them with the affairs of our work. Most of them were too careless, and a few were unworthy -- they could be bribed by the slave hunters to betray the hiding places of the fugitives. . . .
>
> They sometimes came to our door frightened and panting and in a destitute condition, having fled in such haste and fear that they had no time to bring any clothing except what they had on, and that was often very scant. . . .

> Our house was large and well adapted for secreting fugitives. Very often slaves would lie concealed in upper chambers for weeks without the boarders or frequent visitors at the house knowing anything about it. . . .
>
> I have always contended that this road was a Southern institution.

Levi Coffin, Reminiscences
(Cincinnati, 1880), pp. 298-311

* * * *

In May, 1854, an antislavery group stormed the Boston Courthouse in an attempt to release the fugitive slave, Anthony Burns. They failed, and in the fighting, a deputy was killed. Troops were called out to escort Burns to a ship which would return him to the South and slavery.

Anthony Burns is Marched through Boston:

> It was a lovely, cloudless day in June when Burns was sent out of Boston. A large body of city police, twenty-two companies of Massachusetts soldiers and a battery of artillery guarded the streets. . . . Windows along the line of march were draped in mourning and lines of crepe were stretched across the streets. From the window opposite Old State House was suspended a black coffin on which were the words, "The Funeral of Liberty." Farther on, the American flag, the Union down, was draped in mourning. The solemn procession was witnessed by 50,000 people who hissed, groaned and cried, "Kidnappers! Shame! Shame!" . . . Burns was the last fugitive ever seized on the soil of Massachusetts.

Oscar Sherwin, "Sons of Otis and
Hancock," in The New England
Quarterly, XIX, June, 1946,
pp. 221-223

The next year, Massachusetts passed a Personal Liberty Act declaring that the Fugitive Slave Law was in violation of the Tenth Amendment and enjoining state officials not to aid slave catchers.

Antiabolitionists

But slavery had its friends in the North, too. Northern workers, especially the newer immigrants, feared emancipation. They reasoned that the Negro, thrown on the free labor market, would lower wages. In 1860, the average annual wage in New England textile mills was $205, but in the South, where slaves were available, it was $145.

Section I of the Indiana Constitution in 1850 said: "No Negro or mulatto shall come into or settle in the state." To enter Iowa in 1839, a Negro had to post a $500 bond and prove that he was free.

Conversely, abolitionist sentiment was not unusual in the South.

A North Carolinian Opposes Slavery:

> Reared amidst the institution of slavery, believing it to be wrong both in principle and practice, and having seen and felt its evil influence upon individuals, communities and states, we deem it a duty, no less than a privilege, to enter our protest against it, and as a Southern man, to use all constitutional means and our most strenuous efforts to overturn and abolish it.

Hinton R. Helper, The Impending
Crisis in the South. New York:
New York: A. B. Burdick, 1860,
p. 16

Free Negroes

By 1830, there were 319,000 free Negroes in the United States, and 30 years later, the number was 488,000. About half of these lived in the South. But the life of a free southern Negro was restricted to a point where it differed little from that of a slave. Ironically, some free Negroes owned slaves.

The Life of a Slave

Slavery was attached to an agricultural economy primarily. Though some slaves worked in factories and mines and more on domestic duties, the great bulk worked in the fields. Three fourths of these labored to produce cotton, but large numbers were connected with tobacco, sugar, and hemp.

Slaves were usually purchased at auctions. These were very similar to horse sales and often were held at the same time and on the same platform.

A Slave Remembers the Slave Pen:

> The very amiable, pious-hearted Mr. Theophilus Freeman, keeper of the slave pen in New Orleans, was out among his animals early in the morning. With an occasional kick of the older men and women and many a sharp crack about the ears of the younger slaves, it was not long before they were all astir and wide awake. . . .
>
> Next day many customers called. . . . Freeman would make us hold up our heads, walk briskly back and forth, while customers would feel of our hands and arms and bodies, turn us about, ask us what we could do, make us open our mouths and show our teeth, precisely as a jockey examines a horse which he is about to barter or purchase. Sometimes a man or woman was taken back to the small house in the yard, stripped and inspected more minutely. Scars upon a slave's back were considered evidence of a rebellious spirit and hurt his sale.
>
> Solomon Northrup, Twelve Years a Slave (Auburn, New York, 1853), p. 78

* * * *

The normal tragedy that attended the sale of a human being was often compounded by the separate sale to different masters of mother and child or husband and wife.

A Family is Sold Separately:

> My brothers and sisters were bid off first, and one by one, while my mother, paralyzed by grief, held me by the hand. Her turn came and she was bought by Isaac Riley of Montgomery County. Then I was offered to the assembled

> purchasers. My mother fell at Riley's feet and clung to his knees, entreating him in tones that a mother could only command, to buy her baby as well as herself, and spare to her one, at least, of her little ones. He disengaged himself from her with such violent blows and kicks as to reduce her to the necessity of creeping out of his reach, and mingling the groan of bodily suffering with the sob of a breaking heart. As she crawled away from the brutal man I heard her sob out, "Oh, Lord Jesus, how long, how long shall I suffer this way?

Josiah Henson, Truth Stranger than Fiction (Boston, 1858), pp. 11-13

* * * *

Some masters were cruel, and some were kind. It was not unusual for slaves to develop a genuine affection for the White family, and often the affection was returned.

The work day was from dawn to dusk, but the amount of work varied with the needs of the crop. It was heaviest at harvest time and least at Christmas, when the slaves received a few days off. There was no regular Sunday work, but if it were necessary, wages were paid. On a normal summer day, a siesta of one-half to three hours was given at noon.

Conditions were worse on the large plantations, where an overseer supervised the field work. He was usually paid according to profits and consequently made excessive demands on the slaves. His method of enforcement was the whip, although some masters rewarded slaves in proportion to their work. Some owners used a Negro slavedriver in addition to the overseer. Because they did not share the fruits of their labor, slaves would shirk work when possible. Many resorted to self-mutilation to lessen their duties.

A New Slave is Broken In:

> When a new hand, one unaccustomed to the business, is sent for the first time into the field, he is whipped up smartly, and made for that day to pick as fast as he can possibly. At night it is weighed, so that his capability in cotton picking is known. He must bring in the same weight each

> night following. If he falls short, it is considered evidence that he has been laggard, and a greater or less number of lashes is the penalty. . . .
>
> A slave never approaches the ginhouse with his basket of cotton, but with fear. If it falls short in weight -- he knows that he must suffer. And if he has exceeded it by ten or twenty pounds, in all probability his master will measure the next day's task accordingly. So, whether he has too little or too much, his approach to the ginhouse is always with fear and trembling.

Solomon Northrup, op. cit.,
pp. 170-171

For Discussion:

The working day in northern industry was usually also from dawn to dusk in the antebellum period. Discuss the similarities and differences in the lives of a northern factory worker and a southern slave.

* * * *

Many slaves had their own farms on which they grew their food. If the master provided the food, it usually consisted of a peck of corn meal and three or four pounds of bacon or salt pork a week. This often produced vitamin deficiencies, but it was more a result of inadequate knowledge of dietetics than any deliberate intention to starve the slave. It cost less than $15 a year to feed a slave. His medical expenses rarely exceeded a dollar, and the total upkeep of a slave was usually about $35 per year.

Most of the slave's clothing was of poor quality or was handed down from the master's family. Shoes were rarely provided.

Although state laws everywhere protected the slave in theory, in practice the owner was judge, jury, and executioner. He set the rules for the plantation and punished violations. He arranged marriages and authorized divorces. A slave was not permitted by law to own property, though many did. It was illegal to teach him to read or write, and the illiteracy rate before emancipation was more than 95 per cent. A slave could have no liquor, nor could he possess firearms. He was not permitted to stray beyond certain limits and had to be in his cabin by nine o'clock at night.

Until the age of five, the slave child usually played with the children of the master. He then became a water toter in the fields. At ten, he began to do part-time work with the other slaves and at 18 became a prime field hand worth $1,000 to $1,500 in 1850.

Slaves were encouraged to become Christians. They gave up their African religions and either attended church with the master's family or had their own services. But after Nat Turner's revolt in 1831, these separate churches became centers of resistence and were restricted.

Christianity was an attractive religion for the slaves, because it taught the brotherhood of man. The figure of a Savior was particularly suited to the needs of an enslaved people. But the church did not fulfill the expectations of the Negro and worked largely to preserve the status quo.

Slaves had their own internal class structure within slavery. Rivalries were deliberately sponsored by the masters. Domestic slaves felt superior to field hands. It was a great source of satisfaction to have been sold for $1,000 when another slave cost only $800.

They felt pride in their master's successes and looked down on slaves of a less prosperous owner. Frederick Douglass said that they seemed to think that their master's greatness was transferable to them. Perhaps the most pathetic device to gain prestige was boasting of White ancestors or taking pride in a light complexion.

Many of the slave revolts were doomed beforehand by informers from the ranks of the insurgents. On the plantation, slaves were rewarded for betraying those who broke the rules.

Suggested Activities:

1. Give a book report on Uncle Tom's Cabin.
2. Many have depicted the life of a slave as a happy one. Find examples in slave poetry or song to disprove this.

The Pro's and Con's of Slavery:

> Slavery had no philosophic defense worthy of the name -- it
> had nothing to commend it to posterity except that it paid.
>
> Stampp, The Peculiar Institution, p. 422

* * * *

Slavery had always existed. At an early time, it actually represented a humanitarian advance over the policy of killing prisoners of war. In an age without machinery, a slave was a valuable piece of property. Like any other commodity, he was acquired for a price and traded for a profit. Religion rarely interfered with it in theory or practice, and humanitarian considerations were a minor factor in an age when misery was a natural part of life for most individuals.

Different Times, Different Manners:

> It was not until the close of the 18th century that more than a small minority of Europeans began to realize that there was anything wrong in the business of buying slaves in Africa and carrying them across the Atlantic for sale in America. Men and women who were accustomed to seeing their own fellows executed for petty theft and imprisoned for debt, to the forcible impressment of men to serve in the navy, to flogging as an accepted means of maintaining discipline in the army and navy, and to the transportation of criminals as a normal means of peopling the colonies, were not likely to be troubled by the inhumanity and injustice involved in the slave trade and plantation slavery. In practice most Europeans saw and knew next to nothing of either the slave trade or slavery.
>
> J. D. Fage, An Introduction to the History of West Africa. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1962, p. 98

For Discussion:

Why were men in an earlier age less prone to criticize slavery than we are?

* * * *

It was not until machinery began to be used on a large scale that men began to think in terms of natural rights and to question the institution of slavery. Philosophically, the attacks were mainly based on humanitarian considerations, but there was a great range in argument.

Lincoln Sets up a Syllogism:

> If A can prove, however conclusively, that he may of right enslave B, why may not B snatch the same argument and prove equally that he may enslave A?
>
> You say A is white, and B is black. It is color, then; the lighter having the right to enslave the darker. Take care. By this rule you are to be slave to the first man you meet with a fairer skin than your own.
>
> You do not mean color exactly? You mean the whites are intellectually the superiors of the blacks, and therefore, have the right to enslave them? Take care again. By this rule, you are to be a slave to the first man you meet with an intellect superior to your own.
>
> But, say you, it is a question of interest; and if you can make it your interest, you have the right to enslave another. Very well. And if he can make it his interest, he has the right to enslave you.

The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln, edited by Roy P. Basler.
New Brunswick, New Jersey:
Rutgers University Press, Volume II

The defenders of slavery, being on weaker ground, were forced to more ingenious arguments. Some compared the slave under a paternalistic master with the factory worker of the North who had no one to take care of him.

A Congressman Talks of Northern Workers:

> If a dozen of us own a horse in common we want to ride him as much as possible, and feed him as little as possible. But if you or I own a horse exclusively we will take good care to feed him well, and not drive him too much to danger his health, but just enough to keep him in good traveling order.

Congressman Mike Walsh, 1854

Walsh thought that the difference between northern workers and southern slaves was that one had a master without asking for him, while the other had to beg to be a slave. He thought that people lost their liberty just because they were poor.

For Discussion:

Contrast the attitudes of northern employers with those of southern slave-owners.

* * * *

The chief defender of slavery was George Fitzhugh of Virginia, who believed that all workers everywhere should be enslaved for their own benefit. Fitzhugh considered the Negro a grown-up child who would not take care of himself and his family. He was convinced of the inferiority of the Black race.

Fitzhugh on Life, Liberty, and Inequality:

> . . . his slavery here relieves him from a far more cruel slavery in Africa, or from idolatry and cannibalism and every brutal crime and vice that can disgrace humanity; and that it Christianizes, protects, supports and civilizes him; that it governs him far better than free laborers in the North are governed.
>
> Our Negroes are not only better off as to physical comforts than free laborers but their moral condition is better.
>
> But abolish Negro slavery and how much of slavery still remains. Soldiers and sailors in Europe enlist for life; here, for five years. Are they not slaves and have not only sold their liberties, but their lives also? . . .
>
> Wives and apprentices are slaves; not in theory only, but often in fact. Children are slaves to their parents, guardians and teachers. Imprisoned culprits are slaves. . . . Three-fourths of free society are slaves, no better treated, when their wants and capacities are estimated than Negro slaves.

George Fitzhugh, Sociology in the South
(Richmond, 1854), quoted in Stampp's
The Causes of the Civil War, p. 103

Suggested Activity:

Set up a "Meet the Press" interview with George Fitzhugh.

Slavery as Divinely Ordained:

> No fact is plainer than that the blacks have been elevated and improved by their servitude in this country. We cannot possibly conceive indeed, how Divine Providence could have placed them in a better school of correction. /If the abolitionists/ will show us on the continent of Africa, three million blacks in as good a condition -- physically and morally -- as our slaves, then we will most cheerfully admit that all other Christian nations, combined, have accomplished as much for the race, as has been done by the Southern States of the Union.

A. T. Bledsoe, "Liberty and Slavery"
in Cotton is King and Pro-Slavery Arguments. Atlanta, Georgia: Elliott,
Pritchard and Loomis, 1860, p. 417

But the issue would be settled not by words but by action.

In 1857, the same year that the Supreme Court classified slaves as property with no human rights, Frederick Douglass said there could be no advance without a fight.

> If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Those who profess to favor freedom and yet deprecate agitation, are men who want crops without plowing up the ground, they want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its many waters.
>
> This struggle may be a moral one, or it may be a physical one and it may be both moral and physical, but it must be a struggle. Power concedes nothing without a demand. . . . The limits of tyrants are prescribed by the endurance of those whom they oppress. . . . Men may not get all they pay for in this world, but they must certainly pay for all they get.

Two speeches by Frederick Douglass in
Rochester, New York, in 1857, quoted in
Aptheker, op. cit., Vol. 1, pp. 330-334

Suggested Activity:

Answer through research: (a) What did the phrase "due process" mean in the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution? (b) How was "due process" used to deny Dred Scott his freedom? (c) Why was it necessary to clarify "due process" further in the Fourteenth Amendment? (d) How was "due process" used in Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka in 1954?

* * * *

Suggested Resources:

Botkin, Benjamin A., Lay My Burden Down: A Folk History of American Slavery. Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1945 (paper) 3 - T

Curry, Richard O. (ed.), The Abolitionists. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1965 3 - T

DuBois, William E. B., Black Reconstruction in America. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1935 3 - T

Elkins, Stanley M., Slavery. New York: Grosset & Dunlap, Inc., 1963 3 - T

McKitrick, Eric L. (ed.), Slavery Defended. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963 3 - T

Stampp, Kenneth M., The Peculiar Institution. New York: Random House, 1956 3 - T

________________, The Causes of the Civil War. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1962 3 - T

Still, William, The Underground Railroad. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, 1872 3 - T

Tannenbaum, Frank, Slave and Citizen: The Negro in the Americas. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1947 3 - T

Weyl, Nathaniel, The Negro in American Civilization. Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1960 3 - T

Audio-Visual Material:

Film: "Out of Slavery," 20 minutes, McGraw-Hill Films, History of the Negro in America Series JS

Filmstrip: "The Plantation South," The History of Black America from Universal Education and Visual Arts JS

Transparencies: Teachese, "History of the United States," Unit 7*
AEVAC, Inc., Afro-American History Series,
AF 41-6 S

VII

LINCOLN ON SLAVERY

Objective: To present a sample of Lincoln's thoughts on slavery

The near deification of Lincoln sometimes causes us to lose sight of the fact that, like all men, he had a many-faceted personality. Although his chief quality is his humanitarianism, he changed his mind occasionally and, like any other politician, often accommodated his view to those he was addressing.

Following are four readings relating to his views on slavery. The Lincoln-Douglas debates show two sides of Lincoln.

Lincoln in Chicago:

> Let us discard all this quibbling about this man and the other man, this race and that race, and the other race being inferior and, therefore, they must be placed in an inferior position. Let us discard all these things and unite as one people throughout this land until we shall once more stand up declaring that all men are created equal.

The Collected Works of Abraham
Lincoln, Vol. II, edited by Roy P.
Basler. New Brunswick, New Jersey:
Rutgers University Press, July 10,
1858

Lincoln in Charleston, in Southern Illinois:

> I will say, then, that I am not nor ever have been in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races. I am not nor ever have been in favor of making voters or jurors of Negroes, nor qualifying them to hold office nor to intermarry with white people. And inasmuch as they cannot so live while they do remain together, there must be the position of superior and inferior. And I, as much as any other man, am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the

white race.

Ibid., Vol. III, October 13, 1858

Question for Discussion:

Why did Lincoln give different opinions in Chicago and Charleston?

Lincoln to a Friend:

> On the question of liberty, as a principle, we are not what we have been. When we were the political slaves of King George, and wanted to be free, we called the maxim that "all men are created equal" a self-evident truth; but now when we have grown fat, and have lost all dread of being slaves ourselves, we have become so greedy to be masters that we call the same maxim "a self-evident lie." The Fourth of July has not quite dwindled away; it is still a great day for burning firecrackers.

Letter to George Roberson, Ibid.,
Vol. II, August 15, 1855

In an Autograph Album"

I never knew a man who wished himself to be a slave. (1864)

Annals of America, Vol. IX.
Chicago, Illinois: Encyclopaedia
Britannica, Inc., 1969, p. 531

Lincoln on Colonization:

> I do not speak of emancipation at once, but of a decision at once to emancipate gradually. Room in South America for colonization, can be obtained cheaply, and in abundance; and when numbers shall be large enough to be company and encouragement for one another the freed people will not be so reluctant to go.

"Appeal to Border State Representatives to
Favor Compensated Emancipation," July 12,
1862, in Collected Works, Vol. II, p. 318

Suggested Resources:

Basler, Roy P., editor. The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. V New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1953 3 - T

Quarles, Benjamin, Lincoln and the Negro. New York: Oxford University Press, 1962 2 - 3 - T

Thomas, Benjamin P., Abraham Lincoln: A Biography. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1952 3 - T

Audio-Visual Material:

Filmstrip: "Slavery in the House Divided," McGraw-Hill
Transparency: AEVAC, Inc., Afro-American History Series, AF 41-5

VIII

CIVIL WAR

Objectives:

1. To show that unionist sentiment was strong in the South during the Civil War
2. To show that slavery has been underemphasized as a primary cause of the Civil War

In 1859, John Brown raided the arsenal at Harpers Ferry in an attempt to arm the slaves. Southern paranoia now reached a new peak. The election of Lincoln to the Presidency the next year caused the states of the lower South to secede from the Union, and war became inevitable.

It is a mistake, however, to think of the South in terms of a monolithic entity determined to preserve slavery and to leave the Union. In the 1860 election, John Bell of Tennessee, of the Constitutional Union Party, drew 40 per cent of the southern popular vote compared to the 45 per cent for Democratic candidate John C. Breckinridge.

Most of the states held conventions to vote on the question of secession. Here are some typical results:

	For Secession	Against Secession
Alabama	35,700	28,200
Georgia	50,243	37,123
Louisiana	20,448	17,296

Tennessee and Arkansas actually voted against secession; North Carolina voted not to discuss the matter; and as late as April 4, 1865, by a 2-to-1 majority, Virginia voted against leaving the Union.

Forty-eight thousand southerners served in the Union army, and many sections of the South remained sentimentally attached to the Union. West Virginia actually seceded from Virginia.

Further particulars may be found in "There Was Another South," by

Carl Degler, in American Heritage for August, 1960, pp. 55 and 100.

* * * *

Secession became the chief issue for the North. Abolitionists had long been an unpopular minority, and Lincoln made it quite clear that he did not go to war to free the slaves.

Lincoln to Horace Greeley, August 22, 1862:

> If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them.
>
> My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union and is not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could do it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would do that.
>
> I have here stated my purpose according to my view of official duty, and I intend no modification of my oft-expressed personal wish that all men, everywhere, could be free.

Lincoln moved slowly so as not to antagonize the border states still in the Union. When the Emancipation Proclamation went into effect on January 1, 1863, it was more important for what it would lead to than for what it actually did. It specifically exempted 800,000 slaves in the border states and lacked the power of enforcement in the South, where most slaves did not hear of it. Richard Hofstadter said it appeared with "all the moral grandeur of a bill of lading."

Negroes were not recruited by the North until the war was two years old. Eventually 178,000 served in the army. This was one tenth of the total strength. Of 118,000 sailors, 29,000 were Negro. Most came from the South. Thirty-eight thousand Negro soldiers lost their lives, a much higher rate than among Whites.

For Discussion:

1. Why did Lincoln not emancipate the slaves at the outset of the war?

2. Are there obvious reasons why Negroes suffered a higher rate of casualties than Whites?

Suggested Activities:

1. On an outline map of the present United States, identify the border states, the Confederate states, and the states loyal to the Union.
2. Compare the Emancipation Proclamation with the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution. Why was the latter necessary?

* * * *

Suggested Resources:

Aptheker, Herbert, The Negro in the Civil War. New York: International Publishers, 1938 2 - 3 - T

Cornish, Dudley T., The Sable Arm. New York: W. W. Norton Company, Inc., 1956 2 - 3 - T

Franklin, John Hope, The Emancipation Proclamation. New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1963 2 - 3 - T

Hughes, Langston, and Meltzer, Milton, A Pictorial History of the Negro in America, Revised Edition. New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1968 1 - 2 - 3

McCarthy, Agnes, and Reddick, Lawrence, Worth Fighting For. New York: Zenith Books, 1965 2 - 3 - T

McPherson, James M., The Negro's Civil War. New York: Pantheon Books, 1965 1 - 2 - 3 - T

Quarles, Benjamin, The Negro in the Civil War. Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1953 2 - 3 - T

Wade, Richard C., Slavery in the Cities: The South, 1820-1860. New York: Oxford University Press, 1965 2 - 3 - T

Audio-Visual Material:

Film: "History of the American Negro, 1861-1877," 20 min., JS*

Filmstrips: "The Negro in the Civil War and Reconstruction," McGraw-Hill
The History of the American Negro Series, JS
"Firebands and Freedom Fighters," The History of Black America Series, Universal Education and Visual Arts, JS

Transparencies: Teachese, "The Civil War," Unit 8
AEVAC, Inc., Afro-American History Series, AF 41-7

IX

RECONSTRUCTION

Objectives:

1. To show that legislation failed to change the economic status of the Negro
2. To suggest the constructive role of Negroes in government
3. To show how white supremacy was re-established in the South

President Andrew Johnson's willingness to let the South govern itself after the Civil War brought Congress to the defense of the southern Negro. Discriminatory legislation was cancelled, and military law went into effect in the South. The Negro was given his civil rights. The Freedmen's Bureau, set up as a relief agency, built hospitals and schools as well as providing food for the emancipated slaves. Its work was of inestimable value.

But in the most vital area, that of land redistribution, Congress failed. Despite promises of 40 acres and a mule for each former slave, most southern farms remained in the hands of large landowners, and the freed slaves were forced to labor merely for a share of the crop.

A Report on Texas Sharecroppers:

> The entire crop raised in Texas -- cotton, corn, sugar, and wheat -- was gathered and saved by the 1st of December. Most assuredly no white man in Texas had anything to do with the gathering of crops, except to look on and give orders. Who did the work? The freedmen, I am well convinced, had something to do with it; and yet there is a fierce murmur of complaint against them everywhere that they are lazy and insolent.
>
> Two-thirds of the freedmen in the section of the country which I traveled over have never received one cent of wages since they were declared free. A few of them were promised something at the end of the year, but instances of prompt payment of wages are very rare.

General W. Swayne in Congressional Report to the 42nd Congress, 1872

Frederick Douglass said the Negro was "free from the individual master, but a slave of society. He had neither money, property nor friends." Yet most Negroes preferred freedom.

An Ex-Slave Comments:

> What I likes best, to be slave or free? Well, it's this way. In slavery I owns nothing and never owns nothing. In freedom I own the house and raise the family. All that cause me worriment, and in slavery I had no worriment, but I takes freedom.
>
> Henry Banner of Little Rock, Arkansas,
> quoted in Botkin's Lay My Burden Down,
> p. 267

Congress made it possible for Negroes to hold political office during reconstruction. In 1865, the southern Congressional delegates arrived in Washington, D. C. They included nine former high Confederate officers, six former Confederate Congressmen, and Alexander Stephens, who had been Vice-President of the Confederacy. Negroes were not represented and, due to the death of the 3/5 Compromise, the white South had 12 extra Congressmen.

Radical Republicans refused to accept the new delegates and passed legislation withdrawing southern government from Presidential control. New elections were held in the South, and Negroes were permitted to vote for the first time.

From 1868 to 1896, 127 Negroes served in the Louisiana legislature, 40 in Mississippi, and a lesser number in other states. No state, however, was ever controlled by Negroes, despite occasional numerical superiority. No Negro was ever elected to a state governorship.

Between 1870 and 1901, 20 Negroes served in the Federal House of Representatives. Blanche Bruce and Hiram Revels were elected to the Senate from Mississippi. Though 13 of these legislators were former slaves, they had a high level of competence and helped to pass much liberal legislation.

Then, starting in 1881 in Tennessee, a series of "Jim Crow" laws were passed segregating the Negro in transportation facilities, schools, jails, hospitals, playgrounds, etc. In addition, a series of devices such as poll taxes, literacy tests, and white primaries were used to disfranchise Negroes. By 1907, the segregation process was complete throughout the South, and the Negro had again been relegated to second-class citizenship.

From 1900 to 1920, only one southern Negro was elected to a state leglislature; and from 1901 to 1944, only one served in Congress.

For Discussion:

How did literacy tests, the poll tax, and the white primary remove the Negro's right to vote?

Suggested Activity:

By 1870, the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution had been passed. Explain what they dealt with. Discuss how they affected the former slaves in reality.

White southerners never fully accepted Negro equality, and with the founding of the Ku Klux Klan in 1865, violence became widespread in an attempt to keep the ex-slaves low on the economic pyramid and to prevent them from voting.

A Lynching:

> Willing hands brought a large dry goods box, placed it in the center of the street; in it was straw upon which was poured a tub of oil; then the man was lifted with a rope around his neck and placed in this box head down, and then another tub of oil was poured over him. A man from the crowd deliberately lit a match and set fire to the living man. While in this position the flames shot upward. In an instant the poor creature managed to lift himself out of the box, a mass of flames. He was fighting the flames with his hands in an effort to shield his face and eyes and in this condition attempted to run. The crowd allowed him to run the length of the rope, which was held by willing hands, until he reached a distance of about twenty feet; then a yell went up from the crowd to shoot. In an instant there were several hundred shots and the creature fell in his tracks.

"The Lynching of Samuel Petty," The Crisis, May 8, 1914. Cf.

Fishel and Quarles, The American
Negro: A Documentary History,
pp. 374-376

Between 1882 and 1903, 3,337 persons were lynched. Of these, 2,145 were Negroes.

A Southern Institution:

> This is an institution of Chivalry, Humanity, Mercy and Patriotism; embodying in its genius and its principle all that is chivalric in conduct, noble in sentiment, generous in manhood, and patriotic in purpose.

"The Creed of the Ku Klux Klan," 1868
Quoted in Documentary History of
Reconstruction, edited by Walter L.
Fleming (Cleveland, 1907), Vol. II, p. 347

Even before the withdrawal of Federal troops in 1877, it was clear that the Negro was not necessarily better off because of emancipation.

Should the South Have Been Permitted to Secede?

> After all, was it so glorious a thing that the Union was saved by means of a civil war?
>
> We inevitably underestimate the costs of the Civil War. This is partly due to the natural tendency to forget suffering. . . . What was gained is still apparent and is therefore unappreciated; what was lost is gone and therefore more or less forgotten.
>
> Nothing is more sacred in a nationalistic age than the nation, hence the sanctity of any development which preserved the Union. . . . We have today . . . a bigger state, but how a better one? . . . There is little evidence that more than seven states would have gone out in 1861 had Lincoln maintained a policy of peace. . . . The loss of the Gulf tier of states would hardly have been an irreparable blow to the rest of the Nation.

It is obvious that each of these suggested republics would have been smaller and less powerful than the present one, but it hardly follows that they would have been less prosperous or happy.

Richard H. Shryock, in South Atlantic Quarterly, 1933

Suggested Activity:

Discuss the possible consequences if the South had been permitted to secede.

* * * *

Suggested Resources:

DuBois, W. E. B., Black Reconstruction. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1935 3 - T

Franklin, John Hope, Reconstruction After the Civil War. Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1961 2 - 3 - T

Meier, August, Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1966 3 - T

Woodward, C. Vann, The Strange Career of Jim Crow. New York: Oxford University Press, 1963 3 - T

Audio-Visual Material:

Films: "Civil War and Reconstruction," 20 min., JS*, McGraw-Hill Films
"The Reconstruction (1865-1880), 24 mins., EJS*, McGraw-Hill Films

Transparencies: Teachese, "History of the United States," Unit 8*
AEVAC, Inc., Afro-American History Series, AF 41-8

X

THE SEARCH FOR DIGNITY

Objectives:

1. To compare and evaluate the philosophies of Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. DuBois, and Marcus Garvey
2. To observe the changing opinion of the Supreme Court relevant to "separate but equal"
3. To become familiar with the principles of the N.A.A.C.P.

The social evils which accompanied the English industrial revolution provided a frame of reference to those who observed a similar process in the United States. Particularly prone to political and economic exploitation were those Negroes who sought greater opportunity through a mass exodus to the cities of the North. One justification for the subordination of the working class was the doctrine of "survival of the fittest." This principle was reflected in governmental practice.

For Discussion:

1. How does "social Darwinism" conflict with the concepts of American democracy?
2. Can you detect any evidence of these principles in United States politics today?

* * * *

After 1877, with the withdrawal of Federal troops, the southern states began again to limit the rights of the Negro.

For Discussion:

1. Why didn't the Federal government intervene on behalf of the Negro?
2. What were some of the measures taken by the southern states to disfranchise the Negro?

3. How did Negro leaders respond to these developments?

Booker T. Washington's Advice to Negroes:

> Our greatest danger is that in the great leap from slavery to freedom we may overlook the fact that the masses of us are to live by the productions of our hands, and fail to keep in mind that we shall prosper in proportion as we learn to dignify and glorify common labour and put brains and skill into the common occupations of life; shall prosper in proportion as we learn to draw the line between the superficial and the substantial, the ornamental gewgaws of life and the useful. No race can prosper till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem. It is at the bottom of life we must begin, and not at the top. Nor should we permit our grievances to overshadow our opportunities.

"Industrial Education for the Negro,"
1904, Quoted in Fishel and Quarles,
op. cit., p. 366

A Contrasting Approach:

> Education must not simply teach work -- it must teach life. The talented Tenth of the Negro race must be made leaders of thought and missionaries of culture among their people. No others can do this work and Negro colleges must train men for it. The Negro race, like all other races, is going to be saved by its exceptional men.

W. E. B. DuBois, "The Talented Tenth,"
1903, Quoted in Fishel and Quarles, op. cit.,
p. 369

For Discussion:

1. Is there a "middle ground" between these two views?
2. Can you identify educational programs today designed to implement either approach?
3. Should the requirements for admission to institutions of higher learning be the same for Negro and White?

* * * *

The gradualism and accommodation of Booker T. Washington was evident also in his address to the Atlanta Exposition of 1865:

> In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as five fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress.

Quoted in Fishel and Quaries, op. cit.,
p. 344

Washington also said, "Cast down your bucket where you are," meaning that he advised the Negro to remain in the South.

For Discussion:

1. Why did Washington take this position, and what did he hope to accomplish?
2. Was Washington more concerned with separation or equality?
3. Negro leaders today speak of "green power" (money) and economic independence as the key to equal rights for Black people. How does this fit in with Washington's theory?
4. Can you reconcile "separate but equal" with the principles of the Constitution?

* * * *

The constitutionality of state laws establishing "separate but equal" accommodations for the races was allowed in 1896 by the Supreme Court of the United States in Plessy v. Ferguson:

> The object of the amendment (14th) was undoubtedly to enforce the absolute equality of the two races before the law, but in the nature of things it could not have been intended to abolish distinction based on color, or to enforce social, as distinguished from political equality, or a commingling of the two races upon terms unsatisfactory to either . . . . (Referring to "separate but equal") The most common instance of this is connected with the establishment of separate schools for white and colored children, which has been

held to be a valid exercise of the legislative power even by courts of States where the political rights of the colored race have been longest and most earnestly enforced. (One of the earliest cases was Roberts v. City of Boston, 5 Cush., 198, in which the legality of separate schools for Negro children was upheld.)

A series of Supreme Court decisions culminated in Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, 1954:

> We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and others similarly situated for whom actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment.

For Discussion:

1. How do Supreme Court decisions reflect changing times; how do changing times effect, in turn, new decisions?
2. Can you distinguish between "de jure" and "de facto" segregation?
3. Do Negroes want separate schools for their children? Discuss the advantages and disadvantages. Under the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court, would such schools be constitutional?
4. What measures are being taken to enforce the 1954 decision?

* * * *

The decision in Plessy v. Ferguson indicated a need for a more aggresive reform policy or perhaps a complete rejection of American institutions.

The Argument for Reform:

In 1909, the N.A.A.C.P. was founded in pursuit of three objectives:

1. That the Constitution be strictly enforced and the civil rights guaranteed under the Fourteenth Amendment be secured impartially to all

2. That there be equal educational opportunities for all, and in all the states, and the public school expenditures be the same for Negro and White children

3. That in accordance with the Fifteenth Amendment, the right of the Negro to the ballot on the same terms as other citizens be recognized in every part of the country.

Negro Protest Thought in the Twentieth Century, edited by Francis L. Broderick and August Meer. New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1966, pp. 49-52

In contrast was the separatist ideology of Marcus Garvey, who established the Universal Negro Improvement Association:

> We believe that the white race should uphold its racial pride and perpetuate itself, and that the black race should do likewise. We believe that there is room enough in the world for the various race groups to grow and develop by themselves without seeking to destroy the Creator's plan by the constant introduction of mongrel types.

Marcus Garvey, "The Aims of the Universal Negro Improvement Association," 1923, in Broderick and Meier, op. cit., p. 86

For Discussion:

1. Is it possible to relate the separatism of Garvey to current Negro political thought?
2. Does assimilation inevitably result in loss of cultural identity?
3. Does the disparity of approaches and objectives divide the Negro people?

Suggested Activities:

1. Interview parents and older friends on their present-day reaction to these quotations from Washington, DuBois, and Garvey.

2. Prepare an address to newly freed slaves advising them as to preparation for gaining economic security.

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XI

THE NEGRO IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT (1877-1945)

Objectives:

1. To understand the exodus of the Negro to the North following the Civil War

2. To demonstrate difficulties encountered by Black workers

3. To consider the need for democratic principles in trade unionism

A large majority of Negroes remained in the South after the Civil War. Most, though freed from "the peculiar institution," remained in a system which continued to impose conditions of slavery.

In 1860, most of the skilled artisans of the South were Black. They had been trained by their masters for two basic reasons:

1. To increase the value of the slaves

2. To develop wider support for the system through more extensive dependence on slave labor

For Discussion:

In 1880, most of the Black artisans had disappeared. How can you account for this phenomenon? Refer to Quarles, The Negro in the Making of America, op. cit., p. 149

Suggested Activities:

1. Set up a panel discussion on comparison of the life of a slave with that of a sharecropper.

2. List the attractions in the North to a newly freed slave.

* * * *

A Letter from the South:

Bham, Ala., May 13, 1917

Sir: i am in the darkness of the south and i am trying my best to get out do you no where i can get a job in new york. I wood be so glad if cood get a good job. . o please help me get out of this low down country i am counted no more thin a dog help me please help me o how glad i wood be if some company wood send me a ticket to come and work for them no joking i mean business i work if i can get a good job.

In Their Own Words: A History of the American Negro, 1865-1916, edited by Milton Meltzer. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1965, p. 12

Animosity developed between Blacks and northern Whites in industry, because each regarded the other as a threat to security. Unscrupulous employers used Black labor to lessen the threat created by White labor unions.

Strike Breaking:

Manufacturers and entrepreneurs did not hesitate to employ Negroes in order to undermine white labor unions. In 1867, for example, Negro ship caulkers were brought from Portsmouth, Virginia, to Boston to defeat the white workers' efforts to secure an eight hour day. Operators of iron and cotton mills and railroad builders all looked to the South for cheap labor, even if it meant the displacement of workers of a much higher standard of living.

From Slavery to Freedom, by John Hope Franklin op. cit., pp. 212-213

For Discussion:

1. Why were Blacks willing to accept lower wages than Whites?
2. What would have been the advantages to Whites had they allowed union membership to Blacks?

3. What advantages fell to the employer who deliberately encouraged Black-White enmity?

* * * *

The Need for Organization:

> . . . It is apparent that every Negro worker or non-union man is a potential scab upon white union men and black union men. . . . Black and white workers should combine for no other reason than that for which individual workers should combine, vit., to increase their bargaining power which will enable them to get their demands. . . . If the employers can keep the white and black dogs, on account of race prejudice, fighting over a bone; the yellow dog will get away with the bone -- the bone of profits.

A. Philip Randolph, An Editorial in
The Messenger, 1919, quoted in Broderick
and Meier's Negro Protest Thought in the
Twentieth Century, op. cit., p. 68

The only post-Civil War labor organization which readily accepted Negro membership (approximately 60,000) was the Knights of Labor, which placed little emphasis on skills. The infiltration of radical elements and the Haymarket Riots led to its demise.

For Discussion:

1. Does reluctance to admit Negroes persist today on the part of labor unions?

2. What measures are currently being employed by the Federal government to ensure fair labor practices?

Suggested Activity:

Visit a state employment office and get information on "Equal Opportunity" employers.

* * * *

The burgeoning industries of World War I created more jobs for Negroes than they had ever known. The problems of the ghettos increased geometrically with the increasing numbers of Black workers in the cities. The powerful A.F.L. was confronted with two alternatives: to increase their numbers and their bargaining power through active recruitment of Black membership, or to alienate the local organizations which insisted on autonomy.

The A.F.L. View of the Negro Worker:

> It is often asserted that Black workers have been slow in accepting the doctrine and methods of organized labor. The most exploited workers in the United States, they have remained the least organized and, therefore, the most feeble in achieving either security in their employment or living wages and decent working conditions. This apparent indifference of the Black worker to the benefit of trade unionism has served to draw the fire of various officials of the American Federation of Labor, who, when accused of apathy to the fate of Negro labor, have replied from time to time that the Negro worker is unorganizable, and was yet incapable of appreciating the necessity of identifying himself with the American Labor Movement.

Opportunity, a Publication of the National Urban League, June, 1923; quoted in Fishel and Quarles, The Negro American, p. 418

For Discussion:

1. Is the Black worker "indifferent" to trade unionism?

2. What would "autonomy" of a union on the local level mean to a Black worker in the North? In the South?

3. Can you make the distinction between "overt" and "covert" discrimination?

4. What effects do you think a competing organization would have on A.F.L. indecision?

* * * *

The C.I.O. Welcomes Black Workers:

> From its beginnings the C.I.O. followed a policy of equality for all workers, black as well as white. Many of the C.I.O. unions kept no records concerning members' race or color and some insisted the contracts they signed must contain clauses barring discrimination against members because of race or religion. By 1940 there were 210,000 Negroes in the C.I.O. Many of them had acquired new skills, and all of them had a new consciousness of unionism, a new sense of identity with the white worker.

Quarles, The Negro in the Making of America,
op. cit., pp. 212-213

For Discussion:

1. How did the organization of the A.F.L. differ from that of the C.I.O.?
2. How did this act to the advantage of the Negro?

Union Protection:

> The Negro is able to see that the larger number of them employed, the greater is the menace of their unemployment should they not join up with their fellow white workers when demands are pressed and strikes are called.

T. Arnold Hill of the Urban League, 1937
Quoted in Fishel and Quarles, p. 465

For Discussion:

1. Does union membership protect Negroes from being "last hired -- first fired"?
2. Why are figures of Negro unemployment so much higher proportionately than of Whites? In this discussion, consider the advice of B.T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois.

Suggested Activities:

1. Visit a large construction site in your neighborhood and observe the number of Black workers. Report orally to the class and tell why you think the numbers are what you report.

2. Interview a skilled tradesman in your neighborhood to find out his attitude toward union policy on admission of Black members. Report to the class.

3. Identify A. Philip Randolph, Adam Clayton Powell, Sr., Walter White, Executive Order 8802, Jan Matzeliger, G. T. Woods.

* * * *

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XII

CIVIL RIGHTS TODAY

Objectives:

1. To consider the effects of world politics on the civil rights movement
2. To develop an awareness of the social and political consequences of the Supreme Court decision in Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka in 1954
3. To examine and analyze the methods employed by various factions in the struggle for human rights

World War II stimulated major developments in the Negro struggle for equality. Limited gains had been made in reducing discrimination in the military and at home. During the 1940's, approximately 2,500,000 southern Negroes migrated northward. As the movement continued during the next two decades, the so-called "Negro problem" increasingly became a national and urban problem.

From the onset of the postwar period, many obstacles were encountered in the campaign for civil rights, as was shown by stiff Congressional opposition to the recommendations of President Truman's Fair Deal Program. In 1948, however, Executive Order 9981 desegregated the armed forces. In addition, the migration north, the G.I. Bill, the new allegiance of the Negroes to the Democratic Party after the failure of the Dixicrat revolt of 1948, the increasing awareness of world opinion, all encouraged Negroes toward new economic and educational opportunities, new political power, and a renewed determination to move ahead.

An African View:

> . . . the independence movement in Africa has had a great impact on the civil rights movement in the United States. . . . (It) posed many questions for white Americans in regard to the race problem in the United States. For example, James Baldwin has noted in The Fire Next Time that the 1954 Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka decision concerning school desegregation was

> largely motivated by "the competition of the cold war, and the fact that Africa was clearly liberating herself and therefore had, for political reasons, to be wooed by the descendents of her former masters." In its supporting brief in the Brown case, the Justice Department explained that "it is in the context of the present world struggle between freedom and (Communist) tyranny that the problem of racial discrimination must be viewed." In other words, the United States government knew very well that it would have difficulty making friends in Africa so long as black Americans remained subjugated. . . . I believe furthermore, that our independence movement has also influenced the thinking of black Americans toward Africa and toward themselves.

Tom Mboya, "The American Negro Cannot Look to Africa for an Escape," The New York Times, July 13, 1969

For Discussion:

1. How significant is world opinion in forming domestic policy?

2. Were there other reasons for the court decision?

3. How did the African independence movement affect the struggle of Black Americans?
4. Discuss any analogy you may find between (a) the American Revolution; (b) the Negro Civil Rights Movement; and (c) the concept of self-determination of emerging nations.

* * * *

The unanimous decision of the Supreme Court in the case of Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka is a landmark in American race relations. Completely reversing the "separate but equal" ruling of Plessy v. Ferguson in 1896, the Court declared that separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. The segregated person is deprived of the equal protection of the law guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. The decision itself applied only to schools below the college level, but it had unmistakable implications for any area in which segregation was imposed by state law.

Separate but Equal, 1896:

> . . . If the two races are to meet on terms of social equality, it must be the result of natural affinities, a mutual appreciation of each other's merits and a voluntary consent of individuals. . . . Legislation is powerless to eradicate racial instincts or to abolish distinctions based upon physical differences. . . .

Plessy v. Ferguson, in Documents of American History, edited by Commagen, p. 62

Equal Protection, 1954:

> Todays education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments. Compulsory school attendance laws and the great expenditures for education both demonstrate our recognition of the importance of education to our democratic society. It is required in the performance of our most basic public responsibilities. . . . It is the very foundation of good citizenship. Today, it is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him adjust normally to his environment. In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms. . . .
>
> We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs . . . are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. This disposition makes unnecessary any discussion whether such segregation also violates the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, 1954
Documents of American History, op. cit., pp. 621-622

For Discussion:

1. Can legislation change attitudes as well as behavior?

2. How does the decision of the Court in 1954 indicate a more activist interpretation of the role of the judiciary?

3. What is the function of education, according to the Supreme Court in 1954?

4. What changes had taken place in 58 years that may have influenced the Court to switch its ruling?

5. What does one learn about the nature of the Court?

6. Are the personalities of the judges reflected in their decisions?

7. Discuss the power of the Court to retard or advance social classes.

The 1954 decision aroused bitter reactions from most Southerners. Official southern objections to the Supreme Court ruling were based on constitutional principles.

A "Declaration of Constitutional Principles" by Southern Congressmen.

> We regard the decision of the Supreme Court in the school cases as a clear abuse of judicial power. It climaxes a trend in the federal judiciary undertaking to legislate, in derogation of the authority of Congress, and to encroach upon the reserved rights of the states and the people. . . . Though there has been no constitutional amendment or act of Congress changing this established legal principle (Separate but Equal, Plessy v. Ferguson) almost a century old, the Supreme Court of the United States, with no legal basis for such action, undertook to exercise judicial power and substituted their personal, political and social ideas for the established law of the land. This unwarranted exercise of power by the court, contrary to the Constitution, is creating chaos and confusion in the states principally affected. It is destroying the amicable relations between the white and Negro races that have been created through ninety years of patient effort by the good will of both races. It has planted hatred and suspicion where there heretofore has been friendship and understanding. . . .
>
> With the gravest concern for the explosive and dangerous condition created by this decision and influenced by outside meddlers:

We reaffirm our reliance on the Constitution as the fundamental law of the land.

We decry the Supreme Court's encroachment on rights reserved to the state and to the people, contrary to established law and the Constitution.

We commend the motives of those states which have declared the intention to resist forced integration by any lawful means. . . .

In this trying period, as we all seek to right this wrong, we appeal to our people not to be provoked by the agitators and the troublemakers invading our states and to scrupulously refrain from disorder and lawless acts.

The Annals of America, Vol. 17, edited
by Adler, et al. Chicago: Encyclopaedia
Britannica, Inc., 1968

Suggested Activities:

1. Review the Sixteenth and Fourteenth Amendments, the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions, and the Nullification Ordinance.

2. Was the Brown decision a usurpation of legislative power?

3. The Congressmen used such phrases as "outside meddlers", "explosive and dangerous situation", and "agitators and troublemakers invading our states." These terms seemed to invite violence, yet they concluded with an "appeal to our people . . . to scrupulously refrain from disorder and lawless acts." How can this apparent contradiction be explained?

4. In the last paragraph, the southern Congressmen say, "we appeal to our people." Who are our people?

5. In 1832, President Jackson, disapproving of a Court decision, said, "John Marshall has made his decision, now let him enforce it." What would happen today if the Chief Executive should refuse to enforce a decision of the Supreme Court?

6. Do Negroes want separate schools for their children?

* * * *

In 1969, Dr. Kenneth Clark, eminent Negro sociologist, resigned from the Board of Trustees of Antioch College as a protest against the Board's approval of an exclusively black Afro-American Studies Institute. Explaining that "It is whites who need a black studies program most of all," Dr. Clark said, "there is absolutely no evidence that the inherent damage to human beings of primitive exclusion on the basis of race is any less damaging when demanded or enforced by the previous victims than when imposed by the dominant group."

The 1954 decision of the Supreme Court was a legal and a moral victory, but in the North as well as in the South, everyday life was slow to change. Although the basic rights of democracy for all had been recognized and reinforced by Congressional legislation in the Civil Rights Acts of 1957, 1964, 1965, and 1966, refusal to comply with the spirit of these laws ranged from simple inaction and tokenism to riots and bombing. Thus challenged, new techniques were developed by Negroes to achieve long-sought goals.

In 1956, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s campaign of nonviolence, which ended in his violent death later, took form in Montgomery, Alabama, after Mrs. Rose Parks refused to move to the Jim Crow part of a bus. The success of the resulting boycott and the use of the technique of nonviolent, passive resistance established an effective weapon to gain civil rights.

Martin Luther King, Jr., Explains Nonviolence:

> . . . the word "boycott" was really a misnomer for our proposed action. A boycott suggests an economic squeeze, leaving one bogged down in a negative; our concern would not be to put the bus company out of business, but to put justice in business.
>
> As I thought further I came to see that what we were really doing was withdrawing our cooperation from an evil system rather than merely withdrawing our economic support from the bus company. . . . I began to think about Thoreau's essay on Civil Disobedience. I remembered how, as a college student I had been moved when I first read this work. I became convinced that what we were about to do in Montgomery was directly related to Thoreau expressions. We were simply saying to the white community, "We can no longer lend our cooperation to an evil system."

Something began to say to me, "He who passively accepts evil is as much involved in it as he who helps to perpetrate it. He who accepts evil without protesting against it is really cooperating with it." When oppressed people willingly accept their oppression they only serve to give the oppressor a convenient justification for his acts. Often the oppressor goes along unaware of the evil involved in his oppression so long as the oppressed accepts it. So in order to be true to one's conscience and true to God, a righteous man has no alternative but to refuse to go along with an evil system. This I felt was the nature of our action. From this moment on I conceived of our movement as an act of massive non-cooperation.

Martin Luther King., Jr., Stride Towards Freedom, New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1958

For Discussion:

1. What is the implication of Dr. Clark's statement?
2. Did the Montgomery boycott succeed because of moral or economic factors?

Learning Activity:

Give a report on Thoreau's "Essay on Civil Disobedience."

* * * *

Though much was accomplished through the use of nonviolent techniques, many Negroes felt that these gains were largely to the advantage of the middle class. The frustration felt by deprived Negroes often led them to consider violence.

Eldridge Cleaver on Violence:

We shall have our manhood. We shall have it or the earth will be levelled by our attempts to gain it.

Soul on Ice, 1968

For Discussion:

What does Cleaver mean by manhood?

Suggested Activities:

1. Give a report on Eldridge Cleaver.
2. Report on the Black Panthers and the Black Muslims. Compare and contrast the two.

* * * *

An Explanation of Riots:

> The thirty-one riots which raged in the cities from 1964 to 1967 must be viewed within the context of a consensus on the part of Negroes to gain dignity, status, and power within American society in a manner similar to the attempts of the newly emerging Black nations. Further, the riots can be said to have been an integral aspect of the protest of the 1960's. Although having become protest of retaliative violence, they represent an expression of the Civil Rights and other Negro movements. The ultimate objective of these movements is to introduce revolutionary change within the framework of the American social and political structure.

Joseph Boskin, "Violence in the Ghettos," in Urban Racial Violence in the Twentieth Century. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1969, p. 148

For Discussion:

1. Distinguish between reform and revolution.
2. Does the preceding passage indicate that the "protest of the 19 60's" essentially seeks reform or revolution?
3. Explain: "revolutionary change within the framework of the American social and political structure."

* * * *

An Explanation of Black Power:

> Black Power is concerned with organizing the rage of Black people and with putting new, hard questions and demands to White America. As we do this, White America's responses will be crucial to the questions of violence and viability. Black Power must (1) deal with the obviously growing alienation of Black people and their distrust of the institutions of this society; (2) work to create new values and to build a new sense of community and belonging; and (3) work to establish legitimate new institutions that make participants, not recipients, out of people traditionally excluded from the fundamentally racist processes of this country. There is nothing glamorous about this, it involves persistence and hard, tedious, day to day work. The Black man must change his demeaning conception of himself; he must develop a sense of pride and self-respect, then if integration comes, it will deal with people who are psychologically and mentally healthy, with people who have a sense of history and of themselves as whole human beings.

Charles V. Hamilton, "An Advocate of Black Power Defines it," The New York Times Magazine, April 14, 1968

For Discussion:

1. What do you think Black Power means? List a number of definitions.

2. Can Black Power be all the things listed at the same time?

Suggested Activities:

1. Investigate the findings of the Kerner report.

2. What is the meaning of the term racist? List for discussion a number of things that you believe a racist does or thinks.

3. Do you think you are or are not a racist? Why?

Civil Rights Today:

The demonstrators have shifted the desegregation battle from the courtroom to the market place, and have shifted the main issue to one of individual dignity, rather than Civil Rights. Not that Civil Rights are unimportant -- but -- once the dignity of the Negro individual is admitted, the debate over his right to vote, attend public schools, or hold a job for which he is qualified becomes academic.

Louis E. Lomax, "A Demand for Dynamic Leadership, " in Fishel and Quarles, The Negro American, op. cit.

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